

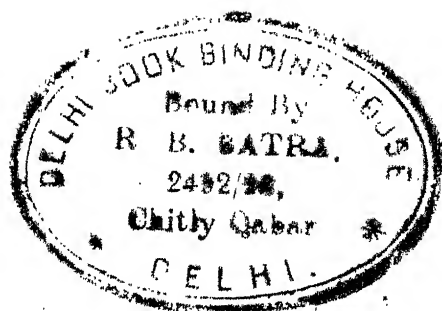
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A Quarterly Record of Anthropological Science with special Reference to India.

Editor : RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L.

Asst. Editor : RAMESH CHANDRA ROY, M. SC., B. L.

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MAN IN INDIA.

Vol. XVII. } MARCH & JUNE, 1937. { Nos. 1. & 2.

I. VEDIC FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND INDUS VALLEY CULTURE.

By

BHUPENDRA NATH DATTA, A.M. (*Brown*), Dr. Phil.
(*Hamburg*).

[Continued from Vol. XVI, December, 1936.]

As regards the material civilization of the Vedic Āryans, Marshall draws a poor picture of the same when he says that they "have no knowledge of life in cities or of the complex economic organization which such life implies, and whose houses are non-descript affairs constructed largely of bamboos." Now, let us enquire if that be so. The *Vedic Index* says, "*Pur* is a word of frequent occurrence in the *Rigveda* (I. 53, 7; 58, 8, 31, 4; 166, 8; III. 15, 4; IV, 27) and later (*Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*, I, 7, 7, 5; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, I, 23; II, II etc), meaning 'rampart,' 'fort' or 'stronghold.' Elsewhere (RV. IV. 30, 20.) perhaps sun-dried bricks are alluded to by *ānā* (*Lit.*, raw, unbaked.) In RV II, 35, 6, a fort made of stone (*asmant ya*) is mentioned. Sometimes strongholds of iron are referred to...In the Epic, according to Hopkins, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 13, 77, (74), there are found the *Nagara*,

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'city'; *Grāma*, 'village' and *Ghoshā*, ranch... The siege of forts is mentioned in the *Samhitas* and the *Brāhmaṇas*" (vol. II, P. 539). Again, the *Rigveda* (IX. 86. 41) speaks of palaces (*attakika*). Thus cities, forts made of stones or unbaked bricks, and palaces were not unknown in the *Rigveda*. Rather, Marshall's view regarding nondescript houses built of bamboos seems to be an anomaly in the Punjab even to-day.^{138*} Probably the houses were generally built of wood.¹³⁹ Again, the right of private property was developed (RV. VIII. 54-55; *Chandogya Upanishad*, VII.24.2), and houses and lands were regarded as private wealth. The arable land used to be measured with a rod (RV, I. 110. 5). Again, by investigating the condition of the life of the Vedic people the following facts have been noted by scholars :—

(a). There had been a growth of capitalism as is proved by the growth of debts and usury and the growth of banking;

(b). There had been a growth of landed aristocracy; and

(c). A growth of social inequalities.¹⁴⁰

Further, there had been a division of occupations. A hymn of the *Rig Veda* runs thus :—"Oh Soma! the works of all people are not the same; as the works of different persons are different, our works are also various. You see that the carpenter cuts the wood, the

¹³⁸ Zimmer—*op cit* P. 52...

* This description of Marshall would rather fit a village-house of Bengal than of the Punjab where village-houses are built of sun-dried earth or bricks on walls with roofs made of burnt Indian tiles known as "*Khamra*."

¹³⁹ *Vedic Index*—Vol. I, P. 280.

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Vaidya (physician) prays for disease, the Stotā (Priest) wants the performer of the *yajña*. Therefore, flow for Indra." (9. 112).

Thus in the Vedic period, we find people not only differentiated in different occupations, we also find Āryan society developing class-distinctions. The Rig Veda mentions the Mahākulas (great families) and Maghavans (1. 31. 12, 11. 6, 4. V. 39, 4). The Taittiriya Samhita clearly says, "Wealth is the true basis of excellence".¹⁴⁰ Again, there is mention of the hungry poor who beg food from others. The whole of the 117th hymn of the tenth *maṇḍala*, dedicated to 'hunger' and attributed to 'Bhiksha' (begging), repeatedly inculcates upon the rich the duty of feeding the poor.¹⁴¹ The man who does not make offerings to the gods, nor gives alms to the poor, we are told, 'is a miser who feeds upon sin only.'¹⁴²

As regards industrial combinations or economic organizations, some suspect that the Vedic Literature mentions the *guilds*. Roth and Geldner¹⁴³ believe that they find reference of the guilds mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas (*Ai. Br.*, III. 30 3. *Kau: Br.* XXVII; *Upanishad* IV. 20. 4). Bhaga is the Sreshṭhi of the Gods (*Tait Br.* 3, 44, 10). There is mention of "Sreshṭhin" and "Sraishṭhya" which would mean the head of a guild and the Presidency of a guild.¶ In

^{140, 142} N. C. Bandyopadhyaya—"Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India," Vol I. pp. 182, 188-189; 189.

¹⁴¹ It reminds us of the exhortations by Hesis of the rich to help the poor in "Erga."

¹⁴³ S. K. Das, "The Economic History of Ancient India" pp. 63-65.

¶ *Vedic Index*—vol II pp. 403-404.

the Atharva we find the following reference (1. 9. 3):—
 “Bestow on him Sraishṭhya (Presidency of a guild or chief’s post) over his fellows.”

Again, as further evidences of material prosperity, “the derivations of such words as *ishṭaka* (brick), *stambha* (pillar), *aṭṭalika* (palace) which occur in the Veda and in the Grammar of Panini, unmistakeably bear testimony to the existence of brick and stone buildings in those days.¹⁴⁴ Finally, it can be said that the religion as depicted in the Rigveda is one of elaborate and costly rites. On this account, Bloomfield says, “The religion or the Rigveda presupposes an established household of considerable extent, wealthy and liberal householders, elaborate and expensive materials, and many priests not at all shame-faced about their fees.”¹⁴⁵

Here we should stop; and we leave the task of true appraisal of the cultural condition of the Vedic people to the Indologists. But we must here bring to notice the fact that the cultural condition of the Vedic Āryans as depicted by Marshall does not find complete support from Vedic Literature. Of course, as noticed already, there had been different epochs in the Vedas themselves. We have seen that some of the hymns bear witness to chalcolithic civilization, while some others speak of the division of society into classes. And it must have taken a very long period of evolution to develop such a society from a people of hunters (1. 164, 43) and pastoralists. It seems, Marshall speaks of only one phase of culture of the Vedic Āryans. But the Vedic literature is a vast

¹⁴⁴ R. Ghose—“*History of Hindu Civilization*” pp. 144.

¹⁴⁵ M. Bloomfield—“*The Religion of the Veda*” pp. 77.

one which bears witness to different phases of the evolution of the Indo-Āryans and the extent of the period of this evolution is still debatable.

This brings us to the question of the Age of the Vedas. The date of the Vedic Age is a disputed one, and Indologists are at variance with one another in this matter. It seems the dates of the Vedas and of subsequent literature are more or less arbitrarily fixed by each Indologist. Max Müller was the first scholar to make an attempt to fix the dates of the Vedic literature. Taking his sure stand on the date of Chandragupta Maurya as given by the Greek historians he opined that the Vedic literature must be a pre-Buddhist one and that it must have developed before 500 B. C. Then he arbitrarily fixed 200 years as the period in which the literature of each epoch was written.

Thus he says, "But although we thus perceive the wide chasm between the Brāhmaṇa period and that period by which it is preceded...it would seem impossible to bring the whole within a shorter space than two hundred years.¹⁴⁶ Of course this is merely conjectural." Then he divided the Rig Veda Samhita into an ancient group of hymns called the *Chhandas* and the comparatively modern ones as the *Mantra* group. He assigns 200 hundred years each to the Mantra period i.e. from 800 to 1000 B.C. and to the *Chhandas* period from 1000 to 1200 B.C.¹⁴⁷ Thus he fixed the age of the beginning of Rigvedic poetry to be from 1000 to 1200 B.C. Here, we see that the fixing of this date is an arbitrary one and it does not take into consideration the

^{146, 147} Max Muller—"A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature" pp. 434, 435, 457.

span of time that a phase of ethnical or cultural evolution would take to come to the next stage. Regarding this arbitrary fixing of Vedic dates, Winternitz says, "It is now clear that the acceptance of 200 years for different literary epochs in the development of the Veda is purely arbitrary".¹⁴⁸ Of course, later, he said, "No power on earth can any time be sure whether the Vedic Hymns were composed 1000 or 1500 or 2000 or 3000 years before Christ."¹⁴⁹

Thus as lamented by Winternitz these arbitrary dates became accepted as scientific facts! The same Indologist truly remarks, "It is strange how strong the power of suggestion works in Science. The purely hypothetical and completely arbitrary fixation of the chronology of the Vedic epochs by Max Müller, received without any new argument or real proofs, in the course of time assumed the appearance and character of a scientifically proved fact."¹⁵⁰

But later, a few Indologists broke away from this orthodox view and advanced new dates for the Vedas. Von Schrader* suggests the date to be 1500 or 2000 B.C.; Jacobi, basing his argument on astronomical calculations tried to fix the date of the Vedic Literature in the third millenium before Christ. But this heretical view raised a cry of horror amongst the savants, who, however, do not see how the prevailing view on the date of the Vedas stands on very weak feet indeed.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Winternitz—*op cit.* p. 249.

¹⁴⁹ Max Muller—"Physical Religion". Gifford Lectures—p. 86.

¹⁵⁰ Winternitz—*op cit.* p. 250.

* L. Von Schrader—"Indians dileratus und Kultur" p. 291 F.

¹⁵¹ Winternitz—*op cit* p. 250.

The attempt to determine the age of the Vedas with the help of astronomy is not new. Ludwig tried it, basing his data on the solar eclipse.¹⁵² Again, in 1899, simultaneously H. Jacobi and Bal Gangadhar Tilak of Bombay tried to fix the date with the help of astronomical calculations.¹⁵³ By this method Tilak traced some of the Vedic texts to 6000 B. C., while Jacobi gave the date as 4500 B. C. as the beginning of the cultural period,—as the ripe, perhaps even the late product of the songs of the Rigveda that has come down to us! This cultural period, extended according to him from about 4500 to 25 B.C. And he is inclined to ascribe to the second half of this period the collection of the hymns that have come down to us.¹⁵⁴ This hypothesis of Jacobi has been criticised. But Winternitz says that from the standpoint of Indian History, there is nothing to speak against the acceptance of the hypothesis that the Vedic literature goes back to the third, and old Indian culture goes back to the fourth, Millenium; and the dates of Max Müller in the face of our present-day knowledge of the political, literary and religious history of ancient India, are no longer tenable. This has been convincingly proved by G. Bühler as well.¹⁵⁵

It is beyond our scope here to discuss the Age of the Vedas. The Vedas and Vedic Literature have been studied from the philological

¹⁵² "Über die Erwähnung Von Sonnen finsternissen im Rigveda" (Sitz berichte der kongl bohm. G. de wissenschaften. Prague 1885).

¹⁵³ B. G. Tilak—*The Orion*," H. Jacobi *Über das Alter des Rigveda* (*Festgruss an Roth* pp. 68-73).

¹⁵⁴ H. Jacobi *op cit* p. 71 f.

¹⁵⁵ G. Buhler—in "*Indian Antiquary*," XXIII, 1894, pp 245 f.

and cultural standpoints. But these require to be studied also from the standpoint of Ethnology and Sociology. Hence it is necessary to take into consideration these standpoints also, in determining the date of the Vedas and Vedic Literature.

We have seen that some of the Hymns of the Rigveda point to a time which is supposed by some to have been an undivided Indo-European period; again, some of the Hymns refer to the mythic stories which point to an undivided Indo-Persian period; further, we have also seen that in some Hymns, Stone Age implements are mentioned; again, in some Hymns we find that hunting and pastoral phases of life are mentioned; again, in some of the Hymns we find social cleavages are mentioned; again, we find mentioned that the people are divided into different economic groupings; again, we find that Kingship is developed; again, in the Atharva-Veda we find the period of magic and incantation mentioned; in the Rig-Veda we find religious rites intended for a rich class, and even within it, we find doubts raised about existing religious beliefs, and in some of the Upanishads (*e.g.*, *Kenōpanishada*) we find that the existing religious beliefs and rites are disbelieved. Again, in some, monistic forms of faith are expounded, and in some (*Brihatāranyakopanishad*) a tendency to Buddhism is discerned.† Thus from the period of magic, charm and

† In some parts of India the people use utensils made of sandstone for eating purposes just as the stone utensils found at Mahenjo-daro; again, the fashion of building the wall with earth-burnt rings that is observed in Mahenjo-daro still persists in Bengal, the far-off eastern part of India. The same fashion of latrine system is observed even to-day in Bengal as well. While the same block-wheel cart is still to be seen plying in Sindh and some other provinces of India even to-day.

incantation to that of monotheism, in the last chapter of the White Yajur Veda* to monism and agnosticism or atheism of some of the Upanishads, from sorcerer and medicine-man of the Atharva-Veda to a Hieratic religion of an organized priesthood,¹⁵⁶ and from pastoral people to a bloody class-struggle between the Brāhman and the Kshatriyas,¶ a long stretch of time must have been taken for the evolution of religious ideas. Again, from the hunting stage of life to the period of *Samrāj* or overlordship over the whole country, and from a nomadic life to a life in forts, brick-built houses with pillars, a very long period of time must have elapsed for social and economic evolution.

Thus taking the Asiatic conditions of life, we cannot, like Max Müller, allot 200 years for each phase of life, or, like Oldenberg,¹⁵⁷ say that a period of 700 years is a good stretch of time to evolve many things and point out to the American continent as an example where in 400 years racial and cultural histories have been completely changed.

In Asia, where economic conditions of life remain stationary, social evolution does not take a rapid stride. It is on this account that the English poet Tennyson has exclaimed :—

“ Better fifty years of Europe
Than a cycle of Cathay ” !

* Vide Weber. “ *The History of the Indian Literature* ” p. 285.

† *Ibid.* *op cit.* pp. 108.

¹⁵⁶ M. Bloomfield. “ *The Religion of the Veda* ” pp. 76-77.

¹⁵⁷ Oldenberg. *ZDMG. BK 49*, p. 79.

** Weber. “ *Indische* ” 2, 32, Zimmer pp. 197 ; Lassen vol II p. 705,¶

If that be the derisive judgment of a nineteenth century poet, then how slow-moving had been the economic and social transformations in those ancient days of India. Here, we should like to mention that some of the implements that bear witnesses to the material condition of life of Mahenjo-daro still persist in present-day India. Taking these things into consideration, it is not likely that Indo-Āryan India has passed these phases of evolution so rapidly as supposed by the Indologists who fix the the Vedic age at from 1700 or 1500 B. C. to 500 B. C.

Here, we should like to mention, that either at the close of the Vedic period or just at its end when the "Niruktas" began to be written, a large number of Vedic words and much Vedic mythology had become unintelligible to laymen. At that time discussion arose regarding the meaning of Vedic terminologies and myths. Kautsa,¹⁵⁸ criticised Vedic Hymns as meaningless; he said, the Vedic stanzas have no meaning" (*Purva Mimamsa*. 1. 2. 1.) Again, while acknowledging the Aswin twins to be men as "the historians regard them as two virturous kings" (12. 1), Yaska analyses the gods into three orders. Thus, at the close of the Vedic period when Vedic literature dealing with Vedic rites and manners began to be written, people had forgotten the meaning of the things dealt in the Vedas. At that time, the sceptics began to throw the whole Vedic lore overboard as meaningless and useless, while the orthodox priesthood began to give allegorical and spiritual interpretation to these things.

For these reasons, it is plausible to think that a very long period has elapsed from the composition of

¹⁵⁸ Vide L. Iarup—"The Nighantu and the Nirukta of yaska" p. 16,

the Vedic Hymns to the end of the period when a set of thinkers began to be sceptics about their meanings. Thus in the idea advanced by these sceptics that the Vedic gods were deified kings or mighty men, an important ethnological information seems to be hidden. Again, the *Māhabhārata* corroborates this idea. It says, "Bhaga, Amsa, Aryama, Mitra, Varuna, Sabita, Dhātā, Vivasvan, Twastā, Pusha, Indra, and Vishnu—these twelve suns (*āditya*) are the sons of Mahatmā Kāshyapa (a Rishi). Nāsatya and Dasra—the Aswini twins have descended from Mahatma the eight Mārtaṇḍa. Formerly, they were reputed to be the *Devas* and *Pitris*. Viswarupa, Trambyaka, Suresvar, Sabitra, Jayanta, Pināki and Aparājita are reputed to be the eight Vasus. At the time of the reign of Prajāpati Manu these were the gods. Formerly, these were recognized as the gods and both kinds of Pitris...Amongst these, the *Ādityas* are *Kshatriyas*, the *Maruts* are *Vaishyas*, the devotional Aswini twins are *S'udras*, and those gods who are descended from the family of Angirā (a *Brāhmaṇa*) are *Brāhmaṇs*. In this way, the gods are divided into four *Varnas**. "(Santiparva, chapter 208). Thus, the *Māhabhārata* conceives the gods as deified men. In this list, we see that the Vedic gods are mentioned. But it seems, that the orthodox priesthood have consistently suppressed these facts, though the traditions have lingered as acknowledged by Yaska and in the *Māhabhārata*. Again, in present-day

* Vide also *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* 22. 9, 1; 3. 5. 5; also, *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

India some Indian critic has come to the same idea.

Dr. Girindrasekhar Basu says, "As different gods appear on this earth as men, likewise the best of men in the reverse process are transformed into gods. Numerous instances of these phenomena are to be found in the Veda...At first the best man receives adoration as a man, then he becomes god, and later he is imagined to be one of the solar constellations in the sky. Indra was at first a man, then he became a god, and later became the Sun. The exploits of Indra as a man, a god and the Sun have been described in in the Veda. No satisfactory explanation will be received if the Hymns be regarded as astronomical allegories only. Krishna was a man, the Nārāyana and the Sun...The seven rishis† were gods as well as men. They were living in some particular time. Vivaswan in spite of being the Sun was once a man. Likewise the Moon and the other stars. The Barhmavaivarta Purāṇa says, 'Those who have passed the stage of the enjoyment of their merit (*punya*), take to a planet and appear as stars; on account of their whiteness these are called as stars (58. 52).¹⁵⁹ Again, the Vayu Purāṇa (3. 31. 32) says, "The ancient learned have laid down that it is the duty of the Sutas (bards) to know the family geneologies of the powerful gods, rishi-kings and other saints."

† A part of the Hindu Solar system.

¹⁵⁹ G. S. Basu— "*Puran Prabesh*" (in Bengalee pp. 13-14.)

Thus, if the idea suggested from ancient times that some of the Vedic gods were men apotheosized as gods be held to be correct, then we get the ethnological information that, as elsewhere, in Vedic India some of the heroes and mighty men of the tribes were deified after their death. In that case, what a long period it must have taken in order to forget such facts so that the composers of the Vedic Hymns took them to be the celestial divinities, and at the close of the Vedic Age, some of the priesthood explained them to be atmospheric and natural allegories.¹⁶⁰

For all these ethnological reasons, the date arbitrarily fixed by some of the Indologists seems to be incorrect and the date of the Vedas seems to be far anterior to those assigned by these savants.

Finally, in summing up the discussion about the data, Winternitz says that the question of the age of the Veda is not such as it has been represented lately. Really, no one knew that the Vedic period stretched from an uncertain past to 500 B.C. The only proper date is : x to 500 B.C. And as the result of the researches of the last decades it can be added that, it is probable that in place of 500 B. C. the date 800 B.C. must be put, and it is *more probable* that the date of the commencement of the Vedic age will fall in the third rather than in the second millenium before Christ.¹⁶¹

Thus, in making an enquiry into the probable date of the Vedas, we have found out that these are

¹⁶⁰ Vide Yaska—“*The Nighantus and the Nirukta*”

¹⁶¹ Winternitz, *op cit* pp 255.

mere conjectures and the dates are arbitrarily chosen. We cannot pin our faith on these dates in which the Indologists themselves differ.

Now, let us see the date accepted by Marshall in fixing the chronological period that has elapsed between the Indus Valley civilization and the Vedic culture. We have already seen that he advances arguments that both civilizations are different and have no common source. Then he says, "In my own view nothing has yet been found either at Mahenjo-daro or Harappa that conflicts with the orthodox theory that the Indo-Aryans entered the Punjab about the middle of the second millenium B. C., but from the picture we get in the Vedas of the pre-Aryan population, I incline to think that the Indus civilization could have been but a mere shadow of its former self."¹⁶²

Thus, he takes 1500 B.C. as the date of the arrival of the Indo-Aryans into India. But here we should like to ask him what made him accept this date as the date for his comparison of the two civilizations? Of course, this orthodox date will create a clear gulf between the assigned age of the Indus Valley civilization and Vedic India and differentiate the two peoples, but we are at a loss to understand why this arbitrary and conjectural date which is already antiquated, be accepted by the Reporter of the "*Mahenjo-daro and the Indus Valley Civilization*."

In support of his acceptance of the Indus Valley culture as anterior to the Vedic civilisation he again asks,

¹⁶² Sir John Marshall—*op cit.* vol I, p. 122.

“If the Vedic culture antedates the Indus, how comes it that iron and defensive armour and the horse which are characteristic of the former, are unknown to the latter?”¹⁶³ True it is that the archaeological report about the remains of the Indus Valley does not speak of the horse..., while the Indo-Āryans used the same animal for drawing their chariots. But the last word on the Indus Valley civilization is not yet said, as other mounds that have been discovered still await investigation. As regards iron, we have already seen that it was unknown in the Rig-Vedic period. It is true that defensive armour is spoken of in the Vedas, but there is no proof that in the early Vedic period it was made of iron. The Rig-Veda records that the god Marut was a fashionable dandy, and in his military equipment we get an idea of the fashionable warriors of that age. Thus we read, “Your shoulder is carrying the spear, in the legs big rings (Khapi), on the breast ornaments of gold, ornaments also in the chariot, in the hand weapon which produces lightning, a golden helmet on the head” (5. 58. 11). As regards the equipments of the well-known house-holders (*Grihaspati*) we find that they used to have a turban on the head, spear, bow, chariot, a black coat on the body, two pieces of black and white leather, silver ornament in the neck.* Thus we do not get the idea of an armour in these descriptions of the dress and mode of life of the Vratyas who according to Weber are “Indians of Aryan origin but not living according to the Brahmanical system”¹⁶⁴ is given in Tandya Brāhmaṇa. In it, we

¹⁶³ Sir John Marshall—*op cit* Vol. I. p. 122.

* *Vedic Index*—vol II. p. 73.

¹⁶⁴ A. Weber *op cit* p. 67.

read that "They drive in open chariots of war, carry bows and lances, wear turbans, robes bordered with red and having fluttering ends, shoes and sheepskins folded double."¹⁶⁵ Here also, we do not get the idea of an armour. The leather or the folded piece of skin must have been used as shield, as in subsequent times we find the name "Charma" (skin) being used as a shield.

It is true that the Rig Veda speaks of "Varman" and it denotes 'body armour,' 'coat of mail', 'corselet' (1, 31, 15; 140, 10; VI. 75, 1. 8) in the same Veda and in later literature. Regarding it, Zimmer says, whether it was made of metal wires or it was only covered with metals we do not know."¹⁶⁶ Regarding it, the Vedic Index says, "Of what material it was made is uncertain; there are references to sewing (*syiita*, Rv 1, 31, 15, X. 101, 8) which may be reckoned in favour of the use of linen corselets such as those recorded by Herodotus (Hahn *Kulterpflanzen* 167 et seq, Lang,—*Homer and his Age*, 150 et seq), but there is a later reference (*Jaiminiya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa* IV. 1. 3) to corselet of Ayas (copper or iron), Lohā (iron) or Rajata (silver) on which it is doubtful whether much stress can be laid. They may, however, have been either of metal or of leather covered with metal."¹⁶⁷

Thus, it is clear that armour made of metal was unknown in the Rig-Veda period. Then we come to the question of the club or mace. It is said that the Rig Veda does not speak of it, but it has been a well-known weapon in the Epics known as *Gadā*. In this way,

¹⁶⁵ A Weber—*op cit* p. 67.

¹⁶⁶ Zimmer—*op. cit.* p. 298.

¹⁶⁷ *Vedic Index*—vol II, pp. 271-272.

we see there is not much difference between the weapons of the two peoples. The only important factor was the horse.

Then we come to the question of the sea. It is to be supposed that the Indus Valley people dwelling on the border of a sea and on river banks were fish-eaters while the Indo-Āryans were meat-eaters and had aversion to fish. True it is that a people living in the hunting and pastoral stages of life would naturally take to meat and would entertain a dislike for fish. Yet fish as an article of diet has not been unknown in latter-day Samskrit Literature, though Indologists opine that the eating of fish was not in favour in the Vedas. On the other hand, we hear of a "fish-" people in the Rigveda which has led Hopkins to opine that it may be a survival of Totemism* as suggested by Oldenberg.¹⁶⁸ We know that the object which is totem with a people becomes taboo to the same group. Hence, an aversion for fish-eating may arise in the minds of a given group of Indo-Āryans. Yet it is evident, that with the pastoral meat-eating Indo-Āryans fish was not in favour in their early days. But as social life and habits are subject to growth, we find further advance made by the Indo-Āryans in this matter in a later age.

The question of fish-eating raises the question whether the Indo-Āryans were acquainted with the sea. Regarding it, we find that "Samudra" for ocean is

* It is possible that the Indo-European and Semitic peoples have passed through the stage of Totemism. *Vide* Freud—"Totem and Taboo," Warde Fowler—"Religious Experiences of the Ancient Romans,"

¹⁶⁸ E. W. Hopkins—"The Religions of India" p. 537.

frequently used in the Rig-Veda (VII, 71, 7 ; 190. 7 ; V. 78, 8 ; VII. 49, 2).

Max Müller,¹⁶⁹ and Lassen¹⁷⁰ have understood it in the same sense, while Zimmer¹⁷¹ admits the sense in the case of one passage in the Rig Veda (VII. 95. 2.) and in the Atharva-Veda where pearl-shell is mentioned (A.V. IV. 10, 4). Thus we find that the sea was not unknown to the Indo-Āryans; especially when the pearl-shell is mentioned we cannot say that they were an inland people shut up in the far north only. Again, contrary to the hypothesis of Marshall, the use of the elephant was mentioned, as a king rides on it with his ministers (4. 4. 2.); the capture of elephant is also mentioned (10. 40. 4).

Thus, on a close scrutiny, many points of difference between these two given groups of people will disappear. Besides these, there is one most important thing that yet remains to be considered,—that is religion. The religion known as "Hinduism" is a peculiar one, its tenets and practices are peculiar to itself. It is not a religion that is imported from abroad. This being the case with Hinduism, which is claimed by its votaries to be the direct descendant of the Vedic religion,—its rites and beliefs are to be traced from the Vedic Literature,—let us see what was the religion of the Indus Valley people during the period in question.

Marshall, while describing the religion of the Indus Valley people says at the outset that

¹⁶⁹ Max Muller—"Sacred Books of the East" 326.

¹⁷⁰ Lassen—"Indische Altertumskunde" Vol I p. 883.

¹⁷¹ Quoted in *Vedic Index*, vol II, pp. 431-432.

“much of these beliefs is contained in late Vedic and post-Vedic literature”¹⁷² Then at the conclusion, he says, “All the materials of a religious nature recovered at Mahenjo-daro and Harappa appear to be characteristically Indian”...It exhibits to our eyes, on the one hand, the worship of the Mother Goddess,... and, side by side with her, a god whom we have seen good reason to recognize as the prototype of the historic S'iva...On the other hand, it shows the worship of animals and trees and inanimate stones or other objects in much the same form as it meets us in historic times...The *linga* and *yonī* both have their places in the religious schemes as they have in S'aivism...And there is evidence that *Yoga* was already playing its part as a religious practice.”¹⁷³ Then, he again says, “There is enough in the fragments we have received to demonstrate that so far as it was capable of expression in outward concrete forms, the religion of the Indus Valley was the lineal progenitor of Hinduism... Of the elements enumerated above, but excluding the cult of Krishna, we have found at Mahenjo-daro evidence of practically every one that is capable of formative expression, viz., of the cult of S'iva and Mother-Goddess, of the Nāgas and tree deities, of animal-, tree- and stone-worship, of phallism and of the practice of *Yoga*. We have seen, moreover, that although there are no visible traces of S'aktism at Mahenjo-daro, there are strong reasons for believing that it existed on the Indian soil from a very early period, as it existed also in western Asia and round the shores of the Mediterranean.”¹⁷⁴

^{172, 173} Sir John Marshall—*op cit.*, vol I pp. 78 ; 64.

^{174, 175} Sir John Marshall, *op cit.*, vol I. pp. 48 ; 76-77.

Thus, we see that with the exception of the Krishna cult, all the ingredients of what is now-a-days known as popular "Hinduism" are to be found at Mahenjo-daro and the Indus Valley civilization. The tree-worship alluded to here is the cult of the well-known Indian religious Fig-tree. Regarding this tree, Marshall says, "From its leaves the tree appears to be *Pipal* (*Ficus religiosa*). This is the tree of knowledge."¹⁷⁵ This tree is not only venerated by the Hindus, but in the province of Behar and elsewhere it is also venerated by the Mahommedans where underneath a Pipal tree exists a *pirasthān*, i. e., where a shrine built on the bones of a Moslem holy saint exists. Some, like the late archaeologist P. Mukherjee, opine, that this *pirasthān* is a transformation of the old Buddhist *stupa* and the veneration to the Pipal tree and the bones of the departed saint that rest underneath it, are relics of Buddhism that still persist with the Moslem convert.

In this way, the spirit of the worship of the Pipal tree being strong in the Indian mind, let us see whether we find it in the Vedas. The Rig Veda mentions the Pippala tree (1. 164, 20). The Vedic Index says, "Asvattha is one of India's greatest trees, the *Ficus religiosa*, later called Pippala (now Pippul). Vessels made of the wood of the Asvattha are mentioned in the Rig Veda (1. 135. 8 ; X. 97. 5.) and the tree itself is constantly referred to later...The gods are said to sit under it in the third heaven."¹⁷⁶

Then, as regards S'aktism about which Marshall says, "There is no direct evidence at Mahenjo-daro or Harappa,"¹⁷⁷ We know that present day S'aktism

¹⁷⁶ *Vedic Index*, Vol. I. pp. 43-44.

¹⁷⁷ Sir John Marshall—*op cit* ; p.

took its rise from Tantricism,—rather both are synonymous. In it, both the phallic Yoni and the Mother-Goddess cult have their places. It is evident that the worship of God—the Mother,—has a long course of evolution in Indian religious history before it took its modern Paurāṇic form. In S'akti worship S'iva, the male god, has his place as well. Hence the Linga and Yoni as phallic emblems have their places in Tantricism. The Mahānirvāṇa Tantra, an authoritative book of the Tantrics or S'akti-worshippers, says thus : “How shall I narrate to you the greatness (*māhātmya*) of establishing a S'iva *linga*...O, Kālike, where Mahādeva [exists in the form of a *linga*, Brahmā, Vishnu, Indra and other gods dwell there (Ch. 14. 4-7), where the Lord of the earth dwells with S'rī-Durgā, the fourteen worlds dwell there.” (Ch. 14. 48). Then it gives a list of the attributes of S'iva amongst which the following are mentioned,—“Peaceful, of radiance like millions of moon, wearing a tiger-skin, wearing the sacred thread composed of serpents, having five faces, with eyes, carrying the trident (Pināka) in hand, white like snow and the moon,¹⁷⁸ seated on a bull.” (Ch. 14. 32-38). Then the same Tantra speaks of sanctifying the *Gauripatṭa* (*yonī* symbol of S'akti, Ch. 14. 41). Then the devotee will worship thus : “Oh Mahādeva, thou comest to the temple. Have mercy on us, come here with Bhagavatī (S'akti),...Oh Mother, oh Devī, along with Mahes'vara be pleased with us ” (Ch. 14, 59-61). Then the “*Gauripatṭa* should be put through the *linga* with the prayer, ‘I bow down to you’ (Ch. 14. 66) In this

¹⁷⁸. Sir John Marshall—*op cit.*, p. 57.

way, we see, that in the modern form of S'aktism the phallic symbols of *Yoni* and *Linga* have been united. Regarding this cult of Tantricism, Pandit Haraprasād S'astri has said, "It really means the worship of S'akti or Female energy. The female energy is worshiped in conjunction with" the male energy.

Thus we see that the inception of S'aktism was from the *Yoni* and *Linga* worship discovered at Mahenjo-daro. But orthodox Hinduism connects the S'akti worship with the Vedas. S'akti, the Mother-goddess, is conceived of in Tantricism and in the Purāṇas as the daughter of "Himālaya" the mighty mountain that stands at the head of India. This daughter of Himālaya is called Umā and regarded as the daughter of Himālaya (*Himavanta*) she is Haimavatī. This Umā Haimavatī is identified by Hindu orthodoxy with the Umā Haimavatī mentioned in the Kenopnishad (3. 25. 12)

Again, the three-faced S'iva or Rudra is mentioned by Marshall as one of the gods of Mahenjo-daro. He says, "Side by side with this Earth- or Mother- Goddess there appears at Mahenjo-daro a male god, who is recognizable at once as a prototype of the historic S'iva;"¹⁷⁹ Then he describes his peculiarities as a male being with three faces. Sitting in Yogi-like posture, holding a Tris'ula or Trident in hand and surrounded by animals. Further, he says, "At the same time he has many features in common with the Vedic Rudra, whose cult he subsequently absorbed."¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ Vide Haraprasad Sastri—Introduction to N. N. Basu's "*The Modern Buddhism and its Followers in Orissa*"

Thus, we see that many of the attributes of S'iva as given in the above-mentioned Tantra and in the books of S'aivism are to be met with in this male god discovered at Mahenjo-daro. It is clear that there is a connection between this male god with three faces and the five-faced S'iva of the Purāṇas. Orthodox Hinduism traces the cult of S'iva from the Vedas and identifies him with the Vedic Rudra. The White Yajurveda gives the 'S'atarudriya' Litany (BK 16th) which says, "Rudras are dwelling in the sky, whose necks are blue (Nīlakanṭha), whose throats are white."¹⁸¹ In this Litany which has been repeated in the Taittiriya Samhitā, (4, 5, 1-11) and Kathaka Samhita (17, 11-16), we find that the following attributes of Rudra are given: He is *Girīśa*, *S'iva*, *Pinākam*, *Tris'uladivam*, *Nilagriva*, *Paś'upataya*, *Kapardīna*, etc. Thus, we see that the attributes assigned to the Paurāṇic S'iva are that he is the lord of the mountains or a mountain-dweller, he holds a trident in his hand and has got a blue neck, and is lord of animals,—and these are also given to the Vedic Rudra. Naturally one may opine that the Vedic Rudra is the prototype of the Pauranic S'iva who is also called Rudra. But it is curious that at Mahenjo-daro we find a male god who is "recognizable at once as the prototype of the historic S'iva," Hence it is evident to the investigator that there is a connection between the male God discovered at Mahenjo-daro and the Rudra of the Yajur-Veda and the S'iva or Rudra of modern times. Considering the

¹⁸¹ Sir John Marshall—*op cit.* Vol. I, p. 52, 56.

priority in this matter, if the male God at Mahenjo-daro be accepted as the original prototype, then he cannot subsequently absorb the cult of the Vedic Rudra as suggested by Marshall. Here, the above-mentioned investigator quoting Barth (*The Religions of India*) in a foot note, says, "Barth regards Rudra as a distinctly and mainly beneficent deity in the Rig Veda, and holds that that more terrible aspect of his nature does not come into prominence until we reach the Atharva-Veda, when his cult had already coalesced with S'iva's". But we know that the Yajur-Veda is recognized as prior to the Atharva-Veda¹⁸² Hence, the terrible aspect of Rudra comes into prominence before the time allotted by Barth. Regarding the Rudra Hymn, Weber says, "The sixteenth book (of the Yajur Veda) on which in its Taittiriya form, the honour was afterwards bestowed of being regarded as an Upanishad, and as the principal book of the S'aiva sects, treats of the propitiation of Rudra".¹⁸³ Again, he says, "In its germs the worship of S'iva may be traced even in the later portions of the Yajus. He appears very prominently as Mahādeva in a portion of the Nārāyaṇī Upanishad, and here he is already associated with his spouse;¹⁸⁴ This Nārāyaṇī-Upanishad is a part of the Taittiriya-Āraṇyaka." Further, Weber says that a passage of the Samkhāyana Brāhmaṇa of the Rig Veda "implies a very special prominence amongst the other gods of the deity who came afterwards to be known to us exclusively by the name of S'iva. He here receives, among other

¹⁸² *The Texts of the white Yajurveda*—translated by Griffiths p. 148.

^{183, 184} Sir John Marshall.—*op. cit.* Vol. I pp. 160-163.

titles those of *Jsana* and *Mahādeva*, and we might perhaps venture to conclude from this that he was already the object of special worship".¹⁸⁵ Thus, we see that already in the Brāhmaṇa period, S'iva is an important god and in the Āraṇyaka or the Upanishad period which is the concluding period of the Vedic Age,¹⁸⁶ we find that Rudra or S'iva has already been connected with the Mother-Goddess as her spouse.

Thus it is clear that the worship of S'iva and his S'akti—the Mother-Godess—has already developed in the Vedic Age and the Paurāṇic sects of the same cult base their beliefs on Vedic Literature; on the other side, we find the phallic symbols of the same cults at Mahenjo-daro. Naturally the question arises, which is the prior one—the Vedic or the Mahenjo-daro phase of the evolution of this cult?

This brings us to the question of phallic worship. In Mahenjo-daro we have got clear indications of the same mode of worship, and in the Purāṇas down to to-day we see it in Hinduism. Hence the question arises, when did the beginning of this worship start? The Rig-Veda mentions the word "S'ishnadevāh" (VII, 21, 5, X. 99. 3). This word has been unintelligible to many since the post-Vedic Age. Now-a-days many interpret it as "phallic gods." But the interpretation of this word by the post-Vedic scholars Durga and Yaska does not indicate any

phallicism. Dr.* Sarup says, "There is no evidence to show that Durga or Yaska was even aware of its existence. According to them, the phrase denotes profligate persons whose sole or chief end in life is to gratify their sexual desires. But the phrase is a possessive compound, and can be translated accurately only as "they whose god is the Phallus."¹⁸⁷ Thus, it is doubtful whether phallic-worship was a part of Vedic religion. But we have already heard that the sacrificial rites composing Vedic religion, constituted the religion of the rich and not of the masses. The phallic worshippers might have existed side by side. Again phallic-worship might not have been a part of the religion of the Vedic Brāhmaṇas and their Kshatriya patrons in the early Vedic period, yet, the worship of S'iva and his Spouse was a reality in the subsequent period. Later on, phallic-worship was to be seen as a part of the cults that traced their descent from the Vedas as we have noticed it in S'aiva and S'akta cults.

Thus we see, that phallic-worship existed in India in all ages since the Indus Valley civilization. Hence, phallic-worship is not extraneous to Indian life as far as it can be traced, though it may not have been a part of the

* Weber says that the *Attharva Veda* (*Samhita*) originated for the most part in the Brahmanical period, which is subsequent to the Samhita or Mantra period of the Vedas. *Vide* his "*History of Sanskrit Literature*" pp. 147, 2, 3, 4, 5; Weber. *op cit.*, pp. 110, 169, 166, 45.

¹⁸⁷ "*The Nighantu and the Nirukta of Yaska*" translated by L. Sarup, p. 238; also Zimmer—"Altindisches Leben."

Brāhmanical sacrificial cult of the early period of the Vedas. Again, the long-haired ascetic sitting in Yogi-posture as found in Mahenjo-daro has his counterpart in the Rigveda (10. 136, 2-5-9) where the *Muni* with long hair and wearing yellow (*pingala*) robe and possessing mystic powers is mentioned.

Thus, finally, we see that in the matter of religion there is much that is common between the two cultures. Much of the religious culture of the Indus Valley civilization is to be seen in the Vedic and the post-Vedic culture of India. But we are not yet in a position to know which is the original one, as we have no data in hand either to prove the independent origin of these cults by putting them up as examples of "parallelism" in history or to cite them as examples of the "diffusion" theory of Elliot Smith.¹⁸⁸ All we can say in this matter is that much of the religion of Mahenjo-daro was not unknown to the Indo-Āryans of the Vedic age, and there is a continuous link between this religion and the present-day popular Hinduism. Hence, it can be said, that in religious matters, the present-day Hindus are the descendants of the Indus Valley people.

Thus, we are now in a position to say that the points of difference between the two cultures so far ascertained here are not so great as would warrant us in taking them as two different peoples. Rather, we have seen that there are many points of similarity between the two. Of course, with the data in hand we

¹⁸⁸ Elliot-Smith—"The Diffusion of Culture,"

cannot compare the two cultures in details. But we see that, there are points of coincidence. As regards the nature of the archaeological remains discovered in the Indus Valley, the age and its possible connection of that culture with the Indo-Āryan culture, we leave them to the archaeologist to decide. The most important point at present is the question of the date of the arrival of the Indo-Āryans in India.

The last test in this matter is the question of the script. So far the scripts of the seals discovered having not been deciphered, all attempts so far made in that direction have not got the approval of the philologists. On this account, we are in darkness regarding the philological identification of the Indus Valley people. But one noteworthy thing has been discovered in connection with the Indus script. Prof. Langdon, the reporter of the Indus script, speaks of the survivals of the *swastika* design on the seals of Mahenjo-daro.¹⁸⁹ Everybody knows that the *swastika* is the holy mystic symbol of the Hindus and this religious symbol has been found in Indus Valley civilization as well.¹⁹⁰ This is again another point of coincidence between the prehistoric people of the Indus Valley and the historic Indians who follow Indo-Āryan polity and religion.

¹⁸⁹ De Morgan in his "*Mission au Caucase*" speaks of discovering the Swastika sign. He does not give the name but gives the picture only, along with a piece of bone of *Bos Indicus* in Caucasus. The *swastika* symbol is now-a-days found in western Asia, Europe and in Mexico. If it be not of Indian origin, when did it come to India?

¹⁹⁰ *Mahenjo-daro and Indus Valley Civilization*. Vol. I. pp. 421, 431, 432.

Thus, the whole question of identification of the two cultures rests upon the date of the Indo-Aryan migration. Regarding it, Langdon again says, "In anyway we may look at the problem, the Āryans in India are far more ancient than history admits...For, more likely is it that the Āryans in India are the oldest representatives of the Indo-Germanic race." But as regards the date, he says, "So early a date (3200 B. C.-2800 B. C.) for the existence of an Aryan civilization in India is confidently asserted to be pure legend and the dream of a national tradition."

Thus we see that none of these scholars assign an early date to the immigration of the Indo-Āryans into India. Further, a scrutiny of the dates advanced by various scholars gives the idea that there is an attempt to synchronize¹⁹² the dates

¹⁹² Regarding the Origin of the Mitannians who worshipped Vedic Gods and used Samskritic numerals it can be said that though the present tendency is to regard them as Iranians or Armenoids, yet Jacobi and Winternitz maintain that they were immigrants from India (*A History of Literature*, translated by S. Ketkar, Vol. I, p. 306).

The possibility of an Indian migration in the pre-historic period in this part of Asia may not be convincing to the present-day scholars, yet research scholars of Oriental history tell us that an Indian migration and settlement in the same region was a fact of Armenian history!

Mr. J. Kennedy writing about "The Indians in Armenia 130 B. C.—300 A. D." in *J. R. A. S., New Series* Vol. 36 :—1, 2; 1904, says, "The existence of an ancient Indian colony in Armenia is well known to Armenian scholars, but Indianists have paid little attention to it. We owe our knowledge of it to Zenob, a Syrian and a native of Glak (Klag)...Zenob was the companion of St. Gregory the Illuminator on an idol-

of the first appearance of the Indo-Europeans in different parts of the world. And these base their

smashing tour through Armenia, about 304 A. D. By St. Gregory's command he wrote an account of the expedition to his Cappadocian brethren and in it he gives a lively account of the Illuminator's little war with the Indian idolators of Taron (Daron). Zenobi's history, composed originally in Syriac, has come down to us in an Armenian version." Zenobi's story is noted here briefly :—"Two Indian chiefs, Gisani (Kisani) and Demetr (Te'mètr) rebelling unsuccessfully against the king Dioskhi (Dinaskey) fled westwards with their clans and sought shelter with Valorshak or Valarsaces, the first Arsacide monarch of Armenia (149-157 B. C.). Valarsaces gave them the Canton of Taror for a residence, and there they founded the town of Vishop on the Dragon. In the neighbouring town of Ashti shot, the pantheon of all the gods of Armenia, they set up replicas of the idols they had worshipped in India...Fifteen years later the king of Armenia put Gisari and Demeter to death, but their sons Korar, Meltes and Harian continued to hold the Canton of Taron, and divided the land among them... They also erected temples to their gods Gisani and Demeter... The descendants of Konar, Meltes and Harian were the priests of the idols, and twelve villages were assigned for the maintenance of the temple service. We hear nothing more of these Indians until St. Gregory appeared with 300 men to overturn their faith. The people flew to arms. The Indians were overpowered. The temples were razed to the ground, more than 50000 idolators submitted to baptism and 438 persons who remained obdurate had their heads shaved and were transported to Phaitakaran near the shores of the Caspian " (Kennedy—p. 311).

Further, Zenob gives us various details about these Indians." They were black, ugly, and long-haired. The long hair was a sacred badge. They remained a separate people, although their chiefs had become connected in some way, probably by marriage, with the neighbouring chief of Hashtiankh." (p. 312).

Regarding this interesting tribe Kennedy thinks that they came from the Indus Valley (p. 312).

The following books give information about this interesting history :—

hypothesis on the supposed North-European origin of the Indo-European or Indo-Germanic people which they call the "Germanic" or "Nordic" race. It seems that for this reason even the anthropologists who belong to this school of thought do not go beyond 2000 B. C. as the possible date of Indo-Āryan migration in India. The dates mentioned above are the possible dates given when the Nordic "Āryans" or the Proto-Nordics have appeared in history.

According to H. R. Hall, the Kassites conquered Babylonia about 1600 B. C. (*vide* "The ancient History of the Near East" p. 3). The Mittanians were ruling in West-Asia in 1400 B. C. according to Hall. (*vide* *Ibid*, p. 229). As regards Greece, Hall says, "The amalgamation of the

I. Arvell—J. A. S. B. Vol. V. 1836, p. 331.

E. Prudhom—"Histoire de Daron par Zenob de klag" (*Journal Asiatique*, 1803, p. 40).

V. Langlois—"Collection des Histoires aniens et Medemes de l'Armenie" Paris 1817. tome, i, p. 336.

M. I. Sett—"History of the Armenians in India" 1897.)

Emin—Recherches sur le Paganisme Armeien," Paris 1864, pp. 30-31.

Lassen—z. f. d.—Kunda des Morgenlandes Bk I. p. 233.

If an Indian migration can take place, and a principality is possible to exist in Asia Minor in the second century before Christ, then why not such an event be possible in the Seventeenth century B. C. in the same region, Moreover, as Feirer (Z. D. M. G. LXXV p. 250) points out the numerals of the Mitanni language agrees more with the Samskritic dialects of the post-Vedic age than with the Vedic one. This will cast doubt upon the hypothesis of the Iranian origin of the Mitannians.

Indo-European Greek-speakers from the North with the non-Aryan 'Minoan' and 'Aegian' of the south had, as we have seen, already combined to form the Greek nation in the Homeric period (Hall, pp. 521-522). Thus the appearance of the Indo-Europeans in Greece would be before 1000 B. C. which is the date assigned to Homer. About Persia, Hall says, "They (the Kassites) were evidently the advance-guard of the Indo-European southern movement and pushed westward to the borders of Asia Minor. In the north the kingdom of Mitanni was about this time established between the Euphrates and the Tigris by Aryans who must have been of the same stock as the Kassites who conquered Babylonia." (Hall, 201). Thus, the appearance of the Medo-Persians is synchronized with that of the Kassites. Giles identifies the *Mandā* tribe mentioned by the Hittite kings about 1300 B. C. as living in western Armenia with the historic Medes (*vide* "Cambridge Ancient History" II, p. 15). Childe says, "West of the Indians in the first millenium before our era dwelt the Iranians" (*The Aryans*, p. 36.) He also says, "We may now conclude that the Indo-Iranian peoples who appear on the north-eastern frontier of Mesopotamia with the Kassites about 1900 B. C. were but the advance guard of the great mass of the same stock. The western wing of these then reached Mitanni before 1500 B. C. while the eastern wing was descending into India not much later." (*The Aryans*, p. 41). The anthropologist Von Luschan regards his blond Kurds to be the descendants of

the Cimmerians mentioned in the Bible and thinks that a wave of invasion of these blonde peoples came to India about 2000 B. C. (*vide*, "Huxley Memorial Lecture"). But the Cimmerians appeared in Asia Minor in about 681-669 B. C. (*vide* Hall, pp. 3). On the other hand, the anthropologist Haddon says that the Kassites are of unknown origin, and he speaks of the expansion of the "Aryans" in Bactria and Eastern Iran between 2300 B. C. and 2000 B.C. Then he says that the Mitanni, "were probably Armenoids and certainly not 'Aryans.' They were dominated by an aristocracy of horse-riding Kharri (Aryans), who had an Aryan theology." (*Races of Man*, pp. 101-102). As regards India, Haddon speaks of the "Aryan-speaking invaders" arriving about 1700 B. C. in India (*Races of Man* p. 111). Thus it is evident, that in spite of an attempt to synchronize, the opinion of these scholars conflict with each other.

But we have seen, that a good many of the Indologists are sceptic about this date of the Indo-Āryan migration. Again here we quote Prof Bloomfield who speaking about this date says, "We are therefore reasonably safe in supposing that the real Vedic period was concluded about 700 B. C...I for my part, and I think I voice many scholars now much more inclined to listen to an early date, say 2000 B. C. for the beginnings of the institutions and religious concepts which the Veda has derived from those prehistoric times which cast their shadows forward into the

records that are in our hands." ¹⁹³ Thus, we see that the fixing of the date of the arrival of the Indo-Āryans in India and of the composition of the Veda are arbitrary acts on the parts of the scholars, and there is no scientific certitude to back this assumption. Winternitz is right in saying that "Neither the figures 1200-500 nor 1500-500,, nor 2000-500 that are often found in popular views about the age of the Vedic Literature are right. The right date is from x to 500 B. C."¹⁹⁴ On this account we can reject the date given by the Reporter of the Indus Valley civilization regarding the arrival of the Indo-Āryans in India. And on the basis of this assumed date the distinction between the Indus Valley people and the Vedic Āryans as made by Marshall cannot be accepted and, as Winternitz has also said, from the standpoint of Indian history there is nothing to speak against the acceptance of the date that the Vedic Literature goes back to the third and the old Indian culture* to the fourth millenium.¹⁹⁵

Hence, we see that, there cannot be any objection in taking the date of the advent of the Indo-Āryans in the epoch prior to the second millennium before Christ. In that case, the Indo-Āryan culture will coincide with the date of the culture of Mahenjo-daro and Indus Valley civilization as

¹⁹³ M. Bloomfield—"The Religion of the Veda" pp. 19-20.

¹⁹⁴, ¹⁹⁵, ¹⁹⁶ Winternitz—*op cit.*, pp. 254, 254.

* By 'old Indian culture' Winternitz meant Vedic culture, as his book was written in 1909 before the discovery of the Indus Valley civilization.

advanced by Marshall. This will give us the clue as to the identities of the funeral rites, religious practices and the stage of civilization as depicted in Vedic Literature with the archaeological discoveries of Mahenjo-daro and Harappa in these matters.

But to the sticklers of Germanism one point remains unanswered; that is the absence of the discovery of dolichocephal-leptorrhine tall-statured type amidst the remains of the Indus Valley civilization. We have already seen that the protagonists of "Germanism" swear by the dolichocephal-leptorrhine, tall, blond biotype as the real representative of the original Indo-European or Āryan. And it is said that the skull of this biotype is not to be found amongst the remains of the Indus Valley civilization. But Dr. B. S. Guha, one of the anthropological investigators of Mahenjo-daro and Harappa skulls, recently said in his *Ethnographical Notes on the Census of India*, 1931,—“The human skeletons found in these prehistoric sites fall therefore into two broad groups, namely, (a) the Chalcolithic, and (b) the Iron Age remains excepting two whose precise ages are uncertain.”¹⁹⁶ Then he says, “The human remains that have been definitely ascribed to the chalcolithic times all belong to the Indus Valley civilization and recorded from Nal, Mahenjo-daro and Harappa...Studies on the second collection of the Mahenjo-daro skulls...are...under publication...The majority of these remains belong to the dolicho-cranial class of which the greater proportion have a small but high-vaulted head with smooth forehead and

narrow prominent nose;...the living stature was moderate."¹⁹⁷ Thus the presence of a dolichocephal-leptorrhine biotype in Mahenjo-daro is assured though we are not sure whether it was the so-called "Nordic" or "Proto-Nordic." Neither, are we given to know the age of the stratum in which those human remains were discovered. Again, he says, "Mixed with the long-headed Mediterranean race...it (the CombeCapelle type) forms to-day the bulk of the population of the Peninsular and a considerable portion of Northern India, in the upper classes of which another strain with undoubted northern affinities is clearly distinguishable...The largest percentage of this element is found amongst the Chitpavan or Konkanastha Brāhmaṇ of Mahārāṣṭra (Deccan)...In a pure form however, it is prevalent only among the Indo-Āryan-speaking tribes south of the Hindukush mountains...It is probable that the powerfully built long-headed strain found at Mahenjo-daro forms one of the constituents of this race whose advent in India appears to synchronize with the "Āryan" invasion"¹⁹⁸ Thus Guha opines that a race of undoubted northern affinities are to be found in India, and this race he takes to be the "Āryan" in India and he further says that a racial strain found at Mahenjo-daro "forms one of the constituents of this race." Thus, the anthropological investigator of the Mahenjo-daro skulls have assured us of the presence of the Āryans whom he takes to be of northern affinities in his examination of the

¹⁹⁷, ¹⁹⁸ B. S. Guha—in "*Census of India*" Vol. I. or III Ethnographical p. LXIX.

second collection of Mahenjo-daro skulls. This may satisfy the protagonists of 'Germanism'.

Further in the summary of the results obtained by him, Guha says, "From the beginning of the fourth millenium B. C.,* Northwestern India seemed to have been in the occupation of a long-headed race with high cranial vault, long face and long prominent nose. Side by side with them we find the existence of another very powerfully built race also long-headed but with lower cranial vault, and equally long-faced and narrow nose, though the latter was not so high-pitched as that of the former. A third type with broader head and apparently Armenoid affinities also existed but whose advent occurred probably somewhat later judged by the age of the site at Harappa from which most of the latter type of skulls came."¹⁹⁹ Finally, Guha speaks of the 'coarser' or North Indian Nord-Indide type described by Baron von Eickstedt to be his 'Proto-Nordic North Indian type.'²⁰⁰ But here we beg to remind the reader that Eickstedt has pronounced his Indians to be the Eastern Mediterraneans.²⁰¹

But here a question arises as to the original carriers of the Indo-European language into India. If according to Guha the long-skulled and narrow-nosed races arrived in India earlier than the race with Armenoid affinities, then which one was

* He does not give us any data for this hypothesis.

¹⁹⁹ Guha—*op cit.*, p. LXX.

²⁰⁰ Guha—*op cit.*, LXXI. p. 147. But the Mediterraneans cannot be proto-Nordies.

²⁰¹ Von Eickstedt—" *Rassenkunde und Rassen geschichte der Menkhheit*"

the carrier of the Indo-European (Sanskrit) language in India? The Pan-Germanists deny that credit to the Eurasiatic brachycephals. Are we to accept that some of the long-skulled race who entered India from the beginning of the fourth millenium B. C. carried the Sanskrit language into India, and the race with Armenoid affinities subsequently took it up from the older races living on the soil? In that case the Indo-European language must have been the vehicle of thought of Mahenjo-daro and the Indus Valley Civilization people.

Thus, it is evident that on a second reading and on an examination of the second group of skulls from Mahenjo-daro the anthropological investigator has changed his opinion and has given a hypothesis which is contradictory to that of Marshall. According to the press report on the Mahenjo-daro skulls there is a talk of finding the "Āryans" in India; at least "one of the constituents of this race" has been discovered at Mahenjo-daro. By this expression are we to understand that by "race" Guha means a people?

Thus we are at the end of our discussion. By making an anthropological study of the modern Indians we see that the biotypes that have been discovered at Mahenjo-daro and Harappa are pronounced by the anthropologists to be not unknown in the present-day population of India. Thus, there is no break in the continuity of the population of this part of India. The Mediterranean, the long-headed type with low cranial vault and prominent superciliary arches all exist

in the Indus Valley of the present-day as it did in the prehistoric period in question.

Sir John Marshall takes the Indus Valley civilization to have been in the Chalcolithic Age as he says, "So far as Sind is concerned there is ample and convincing proof that the whole country from north to South was permeated in the chalcolithic Age by the long protracted civilization which we have unveiled at Mahenjo-daro and Harappa. In the Panjab the evidence is more meagre. To the north-east we have found traces of this culture as far as Rupar on the Sutlej below the Simla Hills."²⁰² Thus, it is clear that the remains discovered at Mahenjo-daro and Harappa belonged to the Chalcolithic Age. Then, he further says that "this Indus civilization was part and parcel of that greater civilization which during the Chalcolithic Age extended across the broad Afrasian belt."²⁰³ But we have said beforehand that Indian culture in ancient times formed a part of the cultural complex which had Anau as its apex, Indus Valley in the east and Koban, Terek and Kuban on the west, and had connection with Halstat of Central Europe. If the ancient Indus culture had connection with the Afrasian belt,²⁰³ it had intimate connection with the Eurasian belt as Marshall himself has said, "that it was intimately related in other branches of that civilization in western Persia and Mesopotamia became clear almost from the first moment of its discovery."²⁰⁴

²⁰², ²⁰³, ²⁰⁴ Sir John Marshall—*op cit.*, Vol. I. p. 93; 93; 93;

It seems that by the tracing connection of the Indus Valley civilization with the Afrasian belt, Marshall emphasises the cultural connection of Indus Valley with the Semitic groups. But this cultural belt of his is confined to Mesopotamia and west Persia which are also parts of the Eurasian belt. It is evident that Marshall lays more stress on the Mesopotamian and Elamite influences on²⁰⁴ the Indus Valley culture and he sees no Indo-European influence in it. But we have seen that the Indo-European culture in its original condition also belonged to the Chalcolithic Age, and there were Mesopotamian influences in it as well. Again, by making a scrutiny of the Vedic Literature it cannot be said that the Vedic people themselves were free from Mesopotamian influences.* Yet when a clear line of demarcation has been drawn between the Indus Valley civilization with its Afrasian affinities and Indo-European culture with its Eurasian affinities, the crux of the whole discussion lies in the question of probability of the Indo-European influence in Indus Valley civilization.†

* The Sanskrit '*Mana*' (English avordupois about 80th), the Zodiac, the story of the 'Panis' in the Rig Veda, the story of the flood may point towards a Mesopotamian influence on the Indo-Aryans.

† Marshall speaks of the connection of ancient Indus Valley with the Mrisianhect, yet he does not say anything about the African or Egyptian influence on ancient Indus Valley culture. Mesopotamia lies in Eurasia. Hence, it can be inferred that this culture was purely Eurasiatic. On the other hand, Elliot-Smith opines that directly or indirectly, the influence of Egyptian culture entered ancient India through three different routes (*vide*—Di. Husion of culture). But this hypothesis still awaits criticism.

We have heard from Marshall that cremation was the usual method of disposal of the dead practised by the Indus Valley people. Formerly, scholars opined that cremation was the typical method of disposing of the dead by the Indo-Europeans.²⁰⁵ But recent investigations have brought to light that even amongst the Indo-European peoples inhumation has given rise to cremation without any extraneous change. The change has not involved a new racial migration. As Childe in criticising De Michetis' thesis that the Āryans introduced the cremation custom in Europe says, "in many cases inhumation gives place to cremation without any other signs of a break in the general continuity of culture or of the presence of a new race." Then he cites illustrations from Europe and he further says, "Thus the rite of cremation not only appears at various times, and at widely separated centres among people apparently belonging to different physical types, but also its introduction is associated with no other symptoms of racial change; the new rite develops gradually, as if spontaneously, and does not as a rule come in catastrophically...Nevertheless the phenomenon is perplexing..Myres and Christian incline to the view that the brachycephalic Alpine race both in Europe and Asia regularly practise cremation...although study of the burial rites of the Cappadocian Hittites and of the circumstances under which cremation replaces inhumation in the Panjab may

²⁰⁵ *Ibid. op cit.*, p. 102.

reveal that this rite is intimately bound up with the solution of the Aryan problem." Finally, he says, "(1) No single race is identifiable, either somatically or by means of its pottery or implements, to which all the cremations even in central Europe can be traced. (2.) The change from inhumation to cremation can in some cases at least be shown to be accompanied by no change in race detectable anthropologically or culturally. (3.) It cannot be proved that the practice of burning the dead originated in and radiated from central Europe.* (4) Cremation is not universally attested among the earliest Aryan peoples, while it was sometimes practised by non-Aryans."²⁰⁶ Thus we have stated both sides of the discussion about cremation. The one side says that cremation was the Aryan custom followed in Europe and Asia, while the other side says that this custom can be traced to far-off lands like Tasmania²⁰⁷ and the Pacific islands.²⁰⁸ They regard it as originating in environmental factors.

Now let us find out the case with the Indo-

* This contradicts the statement of Ridgeway and Gunther that cremation originated with the Nordics of Europe and was taken over by them in their migration to India. *vide* Ridgeway, "The Early age of Greece," p. 541; Gunther, "Racial elements of European History."

²⁰⁶ Ed. Meyer—"*Geschichte des Alterthum*" p. 863...Sergi, "The Mediterranean Race." Both of these scholars opined that the Aryans introduced the cremation system from Asia to Europe. De Micheli in *L' Origine degli Indo-Europei*, says that cremation was introduced into Europe by the Aryans setting out from the Danube Valley.

²⁰⁷ V. G. Childe, *op cit.*, pp. 146-149.

²⁰⁸ "*Mittheilungen der anthrop-Gesellschaft in wien*" Xlvi p. 84.

Āryans. We have already seen that in the Rig Veda the inhumation system is clearly mentioned. The verse of the Rig Veda (X. 10) is very clear about it. Then we hear of the *cremation* system in the same Veda (X. 16). It is pointed out that both existed side by side as Keith and Macdonell say. "The modes of disposing of the dead were burial and cremation. Both existed in the early Vedic period as in Greece; but the former method was on the whole less favoured and tended to be regarded with disapproval. The bones of the dead, whether burned or not, were marked by the creation of a tumulus (S'masāna)."²⁰⁹ It is strange that both of these hymns are to be found in the same *Māṇḍala* of the Rig Veda. This may have given rise to the impression that both the customs were practised simultaneously. But it is not possible that both the practices would have originated simultaneously in the same society, and both would have existed side by side for long. The one must have had an earlier origin than the other, and the surviving one must have been the later one as it won in the competition. On this account we have already said that the complete burial system must have been the older one, and the cremation system evolved later.

As in present-day Hindu society and in pre-Mohammedan days of India, the complete cremation system has been the orthodox and universal mode of disposing of the dead, it must be acknowledged that this mode gradually replaced the older system of burial, which latter became abhorrent in the eyes of the orthodox people.

²⁰⁹ Fox, "*Threshold of the Pacific.*" pp. 207, 229.

But the question arises here,—whether any other mode of disposal of the dead existed before the burial system was evolved. In the Atharva-Veda (18. 2, 34) we find two other modes of disposal of the dead mentioned: viz., *casting out* (*paropta*) and the *exposure* of the dead (*uddhitah*). The Indologists opine that the exact sense of these expressions is doubtful. According to Zimmer,²¹⁰ the former is similar with the Zoroastrain mode of casting out the dead body to be eaten by the birds and beasts of prey. But this practice of the Persians was evolved after Zoroaster's faith became universal with the Iranians. It was not the oldest custom with them. "The Achaemenid Kings were buried in rock-cut tombs, and express prohibitions against cremation in the Avesta prove that that rite was also practised in ancient Iran."²¹¹ As regards the latter practice it is said that it refers to the old who are exposed when helpless (Ry. 8. 51. 2).²¹² But Whitney* thinks that it means, "the exposure of the dead body on a raised platform of some sort."²¹³

But strangely, a dialogue in the *Bṛihad-āraṇyaka-Upanishad*, which is one of the authoritative and orthodox Upanishads and belong to the White-Yajur Veda contains the following fact: The sage Yājñavalkya says, "Oh, Ahallika, when the heart (*hṛidaya*) which is the regulator of this body has departed from our body to some other place, mind it then, the dogs eat it, the birds tear it into pieces; on account of the

²¹⁰ *Vedic Index*—vol II pp. 175.

²¹¹ *Zimmer. op cit* p. 41.

²¹² G. G. Childe—*op cit* p. 41.

²¹³ ²¹⁴ *Vedic Index*—vol I pp. 89.

lack of heart the body gets such an end" (ch III, Brāhmaṇa IX. 25). The Upanishads, as we have seen, were written in the last period of the Vedic Age, and are certainly of later date than the Atharva-Veda. And in the Upanishads we find that in the dialogue of the sage Yājñavalkya the hint is given that the dead body is given to the birds and beasts of prey to devour. Therefore, this custom may or may not be analogous to the Zoroastrain mode which is based on the tenets of that religion; yet the custom of casting out the dead body to be eaten up by the birds and beasts seems to have been in vogue in some period of the history of the Indo-Āryans. We do not know whether any religious injunction was attached to it, but it is strange that this Upanishad should speak of it, though the Samhita of the Rig Veda is silent on this point.

Again, there is another mode which is mentioned in the Epic, Mahābhārata, i.e. laying the dead body on the top of a tree...The *Vāna-parva* of the same Epic describes that the Pāṇḍavas before they entered the service of king Virāṭa of Matsya country in order to remain incognito for a year, placed their weapons hidden in a cloth on the top of the *Sami* tree. And, in order that the people may not discover the weapons thus secreted, told the people around that they were on a long journey and their mother had died in the journey, hence they were tying the corpse on the top of this tree for preservation.

This stray example may give us a clue as to this mode of disposing of the dead. It is possible that

these modes which are more primitive than inhumation or cremation have been extant at one time among the masses. The rites dealing with the burial and cremation ceremonies deal with the corpses of the upper class of people.

It may be that all these modes of disposal of the dead body were not universal in India. It may be that the custom of throwing away the dead body to the birds and beasts of prey prevailed in some part of Eastern India as we see in the post-Vedic Age among the Lichchavis; and Weber says that the Brihad-Āraṇyaka Upanishad belongs²¹⁴ to quite the eastern part of Hindusthān²¹⁵. In that case, we shall not wonder if we find this custom mentioned in the Upanishad which was written at the close of the Vedic age. But any way, these modes were practised by the Indo-Āryans whether situated in the east or in the west. As the Atharva-Veda in its 'funeral verses' says,—“They that are buried, and they that are scattered (*Vah*) away, they that are burned and they that are set up (*Uddhita*)—all those Fathers, oh Agni, bring thou to eat the oblation”* (18, 2. 34).

²¹⁴ Weber—*op cit* p. 70.

²¹⁵ *Vedic Index*, Vol I, pp. 8-9.

* Whitney (*Atharva Veda*, vol II pp. 830-840) in a footnote to the verse on the funeral hymn in the *Atharva Veda* (18. 2. 34) says, “The commentator explains *paroptas* by *durodese kashthavat parityakta*” This would mean to throw away in a distant place like a piece of wood. It would be tantamount to casting out. As regards *uddhitas* the commentary explains it as “*Samskarotharakalam urdhva dese pitriloke sthitah*”! The verse would mean, to be put above in the abode of the fathers after the rite. “It evidently refers to exposure on something elevated, such as is practised by many peoples.”

But, amongst all these forms, the complete burial and cremation gained the mastery. And both of these modes are existing to-day.** The Rig Veda, the Atharva Veda, and the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa mention the mode of complete burial. In this case, it seems a coffin also was used as the *Atharva Veda*²¹⁶ alluded to it (*Vriksha*). Again the word *Chamu* which, in a derivative sense, is used in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (13. 8, 2, 1) denoting "a trough, either of solid stone or consisting of bricks used by the Eastern people to protect the body of the dead from contact with the earth, like modern stone-lined graves or vaults"²¹⁷ is found. Again in the *Rigveda* (8. 89. 1) and in the *Atharva Veda* (5. 30, 14, 18; 2, 52) houses of earth are referred to. Further, the Bengal Administration Re-

** In Tibet many of these modes of disposal of the corpse are still in vogue, which may give the clue to the *raison d'être* of the Indian customs. "As cremation is expensive for the common people, so in barren regions where wood is not available, the dead are placed on the hills and abandoned there to the vultures and other wild animals. In central Tibet the prevalent custom is to cut the corpse into pieces before leaving it on the cemetery ground. When the flesh has been eaten by the animals and the bones are all dry the family collects them and hands them over to a Lama who pounds them...and moulds a number of miniature chortens (*Chaitya*)." Then these are kept in places near the villages. *Vide* "My journey to Lhasa" by Alexandra David-Neel, pp. 135-136. 1927.

** Burial exists with some religious sects and amongst the ascetics. With the latter "water-burial system" i.e. throwing the dead body in water is also in vogue.

²¹⁶ *Vedic Index*—Vol. I pp. 255-256.

²¹⁷ *A. S. R.* 1906-7. "Excavations at Lauriya"—By T. Bloch.

port for 1868-69 mentioned the discovery of "Some leaden coffins containing unusually long human skeletons (A. S. R., vol I, P. 7, Foot-note)." It is said that this discovery was made at Lauriah in the province of Bihar, where Bloch is said to have discovered urn-burials of pre-Mauryan era.²¹⁸

Thus, we are assured of the complete burial system and the fashion of coffins used along with it. Then comes the mode of cremation. In this connection, it should be noted here that Mary Levin²¹⁹ has advanced the hypothesis that mummification was practised before the mode of cremation came into use in India. But we do not find any reference to mummifying the dead body as it was practised in ancient Egypt. The writer refers to the practice of rubbing the dead body with fat and of immersing it in oil. But we read in the Rig Veda (10. 16. 7) that before cremation the body was wrapped in fat, a goat being apparently burnt with it (10. 16. 4) to act as a guide on the way to the next world. According to the Atharva-Veda a draught ox was burned presumably for the dead to ride on in the next world.²²⁰ This may explain the reason why bones of quadrupeds were found in the jar-burials at Harappa as reported by Marshall. Thus, it is clear that the body, after being rubbed with a fatty substance,* used to be burnt, and this could

²¹⁸ Where are those coffins with the skeletons?

²¹⁹ Mary Levin—"Mummification and Cremation in India" in 'Man' Feb. No. 18. 1930.

²²⁰ *Vedic Index*—vol I p. 9.

* Vide S. C. Vidyabhushan in "The Indian Antiquary" of March, 1908.

not have been mummification. Then, the Buddhist scriptures clearly indicate that Buddha's body was burned and then the bones and ashes were distributed amongst different places to raise cenotaphs (*Chaityas*) over them. Thus, the hypothesis of Levin does not get any substantiation from Indian Literature.

Now we come to the mode of cremation. We have already said that complete cremation, *i. e.* completely burning the skeleton into ashes did not evolve at once. For one reason or other, after the destruction of the fleshy part of the dead body, the skeletons or bones used to be gathered and having been put into an urn, the urn used to be put into a pit, and a mound was then erected over the pit. This we have found described in the *Asvālayana Grihya-Sūtra*. That it did not speak of gathering the ashes into an urn is clearly to be seen in the sense of the following verse:—"With the thumb and the fourth finger they should put each single bone (into the urn) without making a noise" (IV. 5. 5). And the bones would be gathered in the following manner: "The feet first, the head last." IV. 5. 6).

Again, in the *Bṛihad-Araṇyaka-Upanishad* we read the following story which helps our contention. It says that when Yajñavalkya was discoursing with Sakala, he said to the latter,—“I am asking you about the *Purusha* (God) enunciated in the *Upanishad*. “If you cannot explain clearly about him, then your head will fall down.” Sakala was

ignorant about the Purusha enunciated in the Upanishad ; hence his head fell down. The disciples of Sakala went home carrying his bones for funeral rites. On the road the robbers (Dasyus) robbed these carried bones taking them to be precious goods (*ratna*). (3, 9. 26).

This story given in a book which was composed in the last period of the Vedic age, corroborates the statement of the Grihya-Sutra. The story says that the dead body of the *rishi* Sakala was not burnt into ashes there. His bones were being carried home for rites. That means, after the separation of the skeletal parts from the flesh, these were being carried home. A Hindu of the days since the Maurya era would not dream of doing it. This kind of cremation would be a partial cremation of the dead body, and it seems, it is the same as the "Fractional Burial" described by Marshall. Again, the Asvālayana-Grihya-Sutra comes to the rescue when it describes the rite of cremation thus : "He gives order, 'Light the fires together' (IV. 4. 1). Then, after he has recited [the verse] 'These living ones have separated from the dead' (Rv. x. 18, 3), they turn round from right to left and go away without looking back." (IV. 4. 9). Thus, it implies that the mourners leave the cremation ground without caring whether the corpse is completely burned or remains half-burnt. Then, the text speaks of the gathering of the bones : "The gathering [of the bones is performed] after the tenth *Tithi* from the dead, on a *Tithi* with an

odd number, of the dark fortnight, under a single star (Nakshatra)" (IV. 5. 1).

In these verses we do not get the idea that the body used to be burned completely and the ashes gathered in the urn afterwards. If the body had been burned into cinders, then it would not have been possible to collect the ashes after a fortnight or so in an urn. The proper sense would be that ceremonial fire used to be lighted and applied to the body or to the pyre, and after performing the rites the mourners used to turn back and return home, and thus would leave the corpse on the pyre to its fate. If it was the custom to burn the body completely, *i.e.*, into ashes, then the mourners would have stayed there and picked up the burned bones to be put into an urn. But we find that the injunction was to gather the bones after some days. It is not probable that the burnt bones reduced to cinders would remain there so long without being blown away by the wind or scattered by other agencies. Hence the probable sense is that it was not the custom to burn the corpse completely, the skeletal remains used to be gathered in an urn and put into a pit later on. Thus, a mode of fractional cremation evolved before the custom of complete cremation took its rise.²²¹ Here we see that in

²²¹ The custom of the present-day Hindus of northern and western India will help to explain the situation. The Hindi-speaking Hindus of these places do not cremate the corpse completely before their eyes. They put the corpse on a wooden pyre, and after performing the rites they lit the pyre and go back home. The body is left to its fate. The Mehtars *i.e.*, the

this matter of partial cremation or fractional burial it is improbable that the dead body used to be thrown to the beasts and birds and then interred, or after decomposition, the skeletal remains used to be buried as supposed by Marshall.²²² We have seen already, that the books of the Vedic Literature which speak of throwing the body away to the birds and beasts of prey, do

cleaners of the cremation ground throw the portion of corpse which remains either unburnt or half-burnt into the river, or, as in the villages, the mourners themselves throw the body into the river. On the other hand, the Hindus of Bengal, cremate the dead body completely before their eyes, and they, as the custom requires it, pick up the fragments of the bones not reduced to ashes, as well as the unburnt navel portion (which is hard to burn) and throw them into the Ganges, and then go back home.

As the economical condition of a society gives shape to the evolution of its institutions it may be possible that the scarcity of fuel in Northern and Western parts of India, has led to the evolution of this partial cremation system in ancient India and its upkeep at the present day in these parts. But the difference is that the Hindus of those parts in modern times do not follow the injunctions of gathering of the bones and of burying them in urns. Again, the injunction as to rubbing the corpse with fat or clarified butter, and folding the corpse in cloths and then dipping it in oil as described in the funeral of Buddha, seems to be due to this scarcity of fuel. Clarified butter is used on the funeral pyre in present-day India. The original idea was perhaps to help burning. Now it is a formal part of the ceremony. It could not have been a part of the mummification process as suggested by Mary Levin. Now-a-days, the practice of rubbing clarified butter on the body of the corpse has become a part of the formalities of the funeral ceremony. A little clarified butter (*ghee*) is put in an earthen cup as a part of the rites.

²²² Sir John Marshall—*op cit* vol I p. 83.

not speak of gathering the bones and burying them later on, either in an urn or in the bare earth. In the case of exposing the corpse to the birds and beasts, the gathering of the bones would not be possible.²²³ Hence, the suppositions of Marshall do not seem to be probable. Thus from partial or fractional cremation, we come to the mode of complete cremation. In the *Kausitaki Āraṇyaka*, there is a verse which corresponds to one of the *Atharva-Veda* (18. 2-19), which used to be recited during the performance of the last rites of a man and which describes the whole cycle of the mode of cremation.²²⁴ Thus, the verse (80. 3) used to be recited when a man on the point of death was laid down on the floor; again, the verse (84. 38) used to be recited when the corpse was taken down from the cart and placed on the funeral pyre; and again, the verse (82-33) was recited when the jar containing the bones was deposited in the earth. But this information does not give us a clear idea whether the bones were partially burned or reduced into ashes. But from this information and from that of the *Asvālayana-Grihya Sutra* we get the information of the Jar- or Urn-burial.

Later on, in the Buddhist books written in the post-Vedic age, we get accounts of complete cremation and the erection of the Chaitya over the ashes or the cindered bones of the saints.

²²³ It seems, on this account, the Zoroastrians throw the dead body in an enclosed place, viz, the Zoroastrian burial place at Rhagas the capital of ancient Media, and the "Tower of Silence" of the Parsis at Bombay.

²²⁴ *Atharva-Veda*—Vol. II, translated by Whitney, p. 836.

The description given about the cremation of Buddha in "Maha-Parinirvāṇa-Sutta" does not leave us in any doubt about the mode of cremation practised by the Buddhists in those days. That complete cremation has already come into vogue is to be seen in the funeral hymn of the Atharva-Veda mentioned above. It says, "Let nothing whatever of thy mind, nor of thy life (*āsu*) nor of thy members, nor of thy sap, nor of thy body, be left here" (XVIII. 2. 24).

It seems that complete cremation came into vogue with the upper classes.²²⁵ As the Vedas deal with the ceremonies observed by the rich people, it is not improbable that those who could afford to burn the body completely did it, and then gathered the bones and ashes and put these underground in an urn, and later raised a cenotaph (called *Chaitya* by the Buddhists) over it. This observance we see in the post-Vedic days in the case of Buddha.²²⁶ Recently the discovery made by Bloch in Lauriya testifies to this mode of cremation. Thus says Bloch, "Of far greater importance, however, were the discoveries made in

²²⁵ The translator of the "Maha-Parinibbana-Sutta" says that the elaborate rites prescribed in the Brahmanical books for the funeral were observed in the case of a wealthy Brahmana or a layman of rank (vide "The Book of the Great Decease" in S. B. E., vol XI, Preface p. XXXIX)...The above Buddhist book says that when the Mallas asked Ananda as to what should be done with the remains of the Tathagata, he replied "as men treat the remains of a king of kings" (p. 125).

²²⁶ "Maha-Parinibbana-Suta" the Buddhist book narrating the death of Buddha, gives a description of the funeral mode. As

mounds (Mound N). I found here, at a depth of from 6 to 12 feet, a small deposit of human bones, mixed up with charcoal, and a small gold leaf, with the figure of a standing female stamped upon it....A little below the two deposits of human

regards the custom of disposing of the dead body the Buddhist Bhikshu, the translator of the above book, thinks that it was simply cremated on a funeral pyre without any religious ritual, "a small tope being more often than not erected over the ashes" (pp. XII—XIV) Regarding the funeral of Buddha the Sutta narrates thus, "When the Blessed one died...then the Mallas of Kusinagara thought...'It is much too late to burn the body of the Blessed one to-day. Let us now perform the cremation to-morrow.' Then on the seventh day the Mallas thought...'Let us carry the body...by the South and outside'...Then the Mallas...said to venerable Ananda, 'What should be done, Lord, with the remains of the Tathagata'? 'As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so should they treat the remains of the Tathagata.'" Here, Ananda described how the body of a king of kings is cremated; and the Mallas did the same with the body of Buddha. It is thus, "Then the Mallas of Kusinagara wrapped the body of the Blessed one in a new cloth. And when that was done they wrapped it in cotton wool. And when that was done, they wrapped it in a new cloth and so on till they had wrapped the body in an oil vessel of iron, and covered that...with another oil vessel of iron. And then they built a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes and upon it they placed the body of the Blessed one...Now as the body of the Blessed one burned itself away...neither soot nor ashes was seen, and only the bones remained behind, there came streams of water from the sky and extinguished the funeral pile of the Blessed one. Then the Mallas surrounded the bones of the Blessed one in their council hall with a lattice work and with a rampart of bows; and then for seven days they paid honour and reverence and respect and homage to them with dance and song and music and with garlands

bones—which, by the way, exhibited every sign of having been burnt, before being deposited inside the top of the mounds—I came upon a circular hole;...it had been formed by an enormous wooden post which had originally been placed inside the middle of the mounds. So much, at least, has been made certain by my excavating that the earthen mounds at Lauriya had some connection with the funeral rites of the people who erected them.” Then he compares the contents of these mounds with the Vedic books on ritual and comes to the following conclusion:— “I look upon the mounds at Lauriya as the remains of some royal tombs, similar perhaps to the Chaitya of the Irijis, Mallas and other Rajput (? Ksha-

and perfumes.” Then different Kshatriya chiefs claimed “a portion of the relics of the Blessed one.” And the disciples “divided the remains of the Blessed one equally in eight parts with fair division.” And those who came last, were content with receiving the ashes. Then the king of Magadha, “made a mound in Rajagaha over the remains of the Blessed one, and held a feast.” And others who received the bone relics likewise raised mounds. (*vide*—“Book of the Great Decease” S. B. E. vol XI. pp. 116-134).

In this narrative we find a tendency to say extraordinary and miraculous things because it was the funeral of Buddha! But there is no trace of enbalming or mummification in this narration. Perhaps the process of wrapping the corpse with cloths and then putting it in an oil vessel and keeping it for several days had probably something to do with the ceremony of “lying in state,” so that the relations and friends of the great dead might come from afar to do their last homage to the departed one. The putting of Dasaratha’s body in oil was only due to waiting for the return of his second son in order to perform the last rites. The Ramayana has clearly expressed it. As this kind of ceremony is connected with the ‘king

triya' is meant) clans...of which we find mention made occasionally in Buddhist literature."²²⁷

Thus, it is clear that perhaps from the latter part of the Vedic age to post-Vedic times, the mode of complete cremation came into vogue with the aristocracy. Gradually, it became universal and the present-day system of complete cremation is the lineal product of this mode.²²⁸ In this way we see, that the Indo-Āryan cycle of disposing of the dead is from complete burial to partial cremation, and from this to complete cremation. And these agree with the modes of disposal of the dead of the people of Mahenjo-daro and the Indus Valley civilization as described by Marshall.

of kings', hence this extraordinary performance. This cannot be taken as a form of mummification as other processes connected with this mode are lacking, nor was it a case of embalming, nor was it a mode of funeral before the custom of cremation was introduced, as according to late Miss Levin, "the mummy was burned to reanimate it, to convey it to the sky for conferring immortality" (*vide* Elliot-Smith—"The Diffusion of culture" p. 217). It is clear that the mode followed in the case of Buddha was a special one cremation Buddha's, was special.

²²⁷ T. Bloch—"Excavations at Lauriah" in A. S. I., Annual Report, 1906, pp. 122-125.

²²⁸ How the pompous cremation befitting a 'king of kings' gave place to the modern unostentatious mode of cremation which generally denies a cenotaph over the ashes of the departed one is worth investigation. A passage in the *Chhandogya-Upanishad* may throw some light on this topic. It says (8. 561-568), that the Deva Indra and the Asura Virochana both went to Prajapati (Brahma) to learn about the Godhood (*Brahma-vidya*). Prajapati in order to test them gave them at first enigmatic lessons. Virochana being satisfied

VI. Conclusion.

Thus we are at the end of our survey. In the course of our investigation of the anthropology of the Indus Valley of the past, we have seen that skulls of various biotypes have been discovered in Mahenjo-daro and Harappa. These testify that the people of the "Indus Valley Civilization" have been a mixed one. The archaeologists have not told us, as to which one out of these racial elements was the first to originate the civilization of this region. They have told us that there was a connection with the Afrasian belt, though no African or Egyptian influence is traced; but we have seen that a connection with the Eurasian belt was not beyond probability. Further we have been told that the Indus Valley people of this age were in the chalcolithic stage of civilization and they flourished in an age far anterior to that of the Vedic people.

with the lesson, went to his people and said that, Prajapati has said that the body is the only soul (Atma). Hence, in this world the body-soul is only great, adorable and worthy of worship. For this, the Upanishad says the goodmen call all those who are yet uncharitable, devoid of respect and good works, as "Asura" i.e. of the nature of Asuras. Because, it is the Upanishad or selfknowledge of the Asuras, and the result of it is that after decorating the dead body with perfumes, garlands, cloths and ornaments, they perform the cremation. They think in this way the dead persons will conquer the next world.

This story shows that the religious groups began to look down upon pompous funerals. The Buddhist Bhikshus did away with the ceremonies, and gradually practised simple cremation. Perhaps this example and the criticism of the rationalists who began to decry the Vedic rites, put a stop to the pompous fashion of cremation practised by the aristocracy.

The question of the Vedic people brings us to the controversy regarding the Indo-European or the Āryan problem. In our discussion we have seen that "Indo-European" or "Āryan" has not been a race, rather it has been a philological-cultural grouping. Hence, we have no right to identify the Vedic Āryans with a particular biotype. On this account, the absence of the remains of any dolichocephalic-leptorrhine skull of the Nordic variety of man in Harappa and Mahenjo-daro does not warrant any inference of the non-presence of any Āryan-speaking people in the period of Indus Valley Culture. Moreover, the present-day population of the North-west frontier of India and North India is composed of mixed elements, and in the age of the Indus Valley Civilization, as acknowledged by Marshall, it has not been otherwise. Hence it is not possible to expect a homogeneous racial element with the Vedic Āryans inhabiting the same region.

Further, in our investigation we have seen that the absence of the Indo-European-speaking people in the period of Harappa culture and Indus Valley civilization cannot be proved.

Again, in our investigation we have found no valid ground for any anthropological objection to the hypothesis that the Indo-Āryans were a part of the Harappa culture.

Further, an investigation in the Vedic literature has shown that the Rig-Vedic Indo-Āryans were also in the chalcolithic stage of civilization, and in their earliest days they did not

know the use of iron and used stone and wooden utensils. Then, they used nearly the same animals as mentioned by Marshall to have been used by the Indus Valley people. Again, brick-built houses and palaces were not unknown to them. Further, the symbols of the religious cult mentioned by Marshall as belonging to the Indus Valley people, are also to be found in the Vedic literature from the Rigveda downwards. Also the same kind of tree-worship is to be found in the Vedas. Even, the long-haired Yogi (ascetic), the Swastika sign and the hump-backed Bull (*Bos Indicus*) and the mode of dress²²⁹ are common factors with both the peoples. Finally, we come to the case of the disposal of the dead. We have found out that the Indo-Āryans had an identical cycle of disposal of the dead with the Indus Valley people. The burial of the partially and completely cremated bones and ashes in urns were important items of the Indo-Āryan mode of cremation. We have also seen that the original custom of inhumation gave way before the jar-burial mode. And the raising of mounds gave place to the cenotaphs and Chaityas of the latter-day Buddhists.

This jar burial has been discovered at Baluchistan, Mahenjo-daro and Harappa. Of course, such a mode of burial has not been unknown to other parts of the world. The discovery of identical modes of disposal of the dead in the same

²²⁹ The Vedic peoples did not wear close-fitting trousers, coats and high boots as befit a people of colder regions. Do not these bespeak their non-northern origin?

region of the Indus Valley would make one suspect that we have to do with the same people. Thus, in this matter of disposal of the dead, there is again an identity.

As regards the identity of the racial types discovered from these places, four distinct types,—‘Caucasic,’ ‘Mediterranean,’ ‘Alpine’ or ‘Armenoids’ and the ‘Mongolian’ branch of the Alpine stock,—are said to have been identified.²³⁰ On the other hand, the various anthropological investigations into the present-day peoples of this region, inform us that these biotypes still exist there. But from the reports on prehistoric Indus Valley we are not in a position to know which racial element was anterior to which other. The only salient point to be discerned here is that the type discovered in the strange mode of jar-burial at Harappa has been discovered in Baluchistan, and in the lower strata of Mahenjo-daro. And this is the type which Marshall regards as a “new

²³⁰ Dorothy Mackay in “*Mahenjo-daro and the Ancient Civilization of the Indus Valley*” in the *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of The Smithsonian Institution*, 1932, p. 437, says “A certain number of skeletons have been found at Mahenjo-daro. But of those unearthed in the earlier excavations and included in the recently published book, only 15 can be regarded as contemporaneous with the city. The remainder may have been squatters in the ruins at any time within a century or two after its abandonment, or even later than that. Of the 15, 14 lay in a strange variety of attitudes in one single room, a circumstance that itself gives pause to any that would deduce the racial elements of the population from those few bones...Indeed, the fact that these skeletons represent more than one race is in favour of their being foreigners, whether prisoners or slaves.”

type of people." But we see that this biotype has not been a stranger in the Indus Valley and in Baluchistan. Hence, we can have no difficulty in identifying them as belonging to the same ethnic stock.

As it is not likely that a cultural group can be identified with a particular biotype, we cannot identify the skulls of the biotypes discovered in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan as belonging to different ethnic-cultural groups. As Marshall says, "one of the most striking facts revealed by the excavations at Mahenjo-daro and Harappa is the complete uniformity of their culture."²³¹ Hence, we shall have to accept the fact that the people of Northern and Western parts of prehistoric India belonged to one ethnic-cultural group though they may not be somatologically homogeneous. We shall have to suppose that different biotypes have in course of ages infiltrated into the Indus Valley, and have formed one body which has developed into one ethnic-cultural group producing the Indus Valley civilization of prehistoric days, or it may be that the new-comers have been assimilated to the older ethnic group and have thereby kept up the cultural uniformity. One of the monuments of this uniform culture is the jar-burial comprising fractional and complete cremation. The Vedas clearly speak of the same mode of disposal of the dead; and both have evolved in the same geographical area. Further, there is much that is common between both the cultural groups.

²³¹ Sir J. Marshall—vol I. p. 92.

And as the racial types discovered in these prehistoric sites are found to be existing in the modern people of the same regions we have no difficulty in saying that there is a continuity in the population of this geographical area from the prehistoric days of Indus Valley civilization.

Again, as the modern people of this region speak an Indo-European language, and the Vedic people also spoke the same form of Indo-European language called Samskrit, and there are ethnic, cultural and linguistic continuities between the people of Modern and Vedic ages of this area, it appears most likely that the prehistoric people in question must have been a people belonging to the Indo-European family.

Further, the culture of the Indo-Europeans or Āryans, when we first notice them, was neolithic or chalcolithic, and the urn-fields so far discovered in the Eurasian belt extends principally from central Europe to India, and generally the Indo-European-speaking peoples have dwelt in this belt from prehistoric times. In this belt inhumation has given place to cremation. These phenomena coincide with the Indian realities of prehistoric and historic Indus Valley. Hence it is probable that the people of Indus Valley civilization fall within the Indo-European ethnic circle. And as the Indo-European-speaking people in India are known as the Indo-Āryans, the various forms of cultural similitudes mentioned above leave us in no doubt that the people of the Indus Valley civilization were similar with the Vedic people.

Hence, it may be suggested that probably the people of Mahenjo-daro and Indus Valley civilization "fall within the Indo-European cultural circle." At Harappa, the influence of the Vedic people is clearly discernible in the numerous jar-burials that have been discovered.

Thus, we have found out that various factors of civilization are common with both the people. But the last factor of identification, *i.e.*, the question of language, still remains unsolved.

It seems the greatest bar to the identification lies in the supposed difference of age that lies between the two peoples. But we have seen that if we leave aside the date 1500 B.C. as it is a bias towards "Germanism" or "Nordicism," and keep an open mind regarding the date of the Rig-Veda which is still the bone of contention amongst Indologists, we shall have no difficulty regarding identity. Thus, if the arguments of Jacobi, Winternitz and others who think like them in fixing the date of the Rig-Veda in the third or fourth millenium B.C. be accepted, then the difficulty in identifying the prehistoric Indus Valley people with the Vedic people is removed. But leaving the dispute about the date of the Vedas to the Indologists, we find that any way the fractional and complete cremation modes of urn-burials discovered in the Indus-Valley must have belonged to the Vedic Indo-Āryans.

This brings us face to face with the question of identifying the "black aboriginals" mentioned in the Rig-Veda. It is said that the Rig-Veda

speaks of nose-less (*anāsā*, 5. 29. 10), black-skinned people (2. 29. 8) whose words cannot be understood (*Mridhra-vāch* 5. 29. 10) and, according to the Indologists and Occidental scholars, the whole Indo-Āryan polity with its four-fold social distinction has been built upon the struggle between the white Indo-Āryans and the black aboriginal. But the excavations at Mahenjo-daro, Harappa and elsewhere are knocking down the edifice of the above-mentioned interpretation of Indian history from its very bottom! If the prehistoric people of this part of India were the Caucasics, Alpines and Mediterraneans with higher civilization, then wherefrom would the black aboriginals come? Surely, the cultural history of ancient India needs a new orientation.

The language question turns up again at this point. The old question about the carriers of Indo-European language to India comes up here again²³² If the Vedic people were the last batch of Indo-Europeans who conquered the original occupants of this region, then could they have denounced the Alpines and the Mediterraneans as black and noseless people? On the other hand, we have been lately hearing that some of the so-called "Caucasic" racial elements had a "moderately broad nose" and they are supposed to form "one of the constituents of the race whose advent in India appears to synchronise with the 'Āryan' invasion." This would show that even amongst

²³² Weber, *op. cit.*, pp 18; Grierson, "Linguistic Survey of India," Chanda, "The Indo-Āryan Races."

the so-called Indo-Āryans broad-nosed (*anāsa*, 'noseless') elements did exist. Thus the question about the identity of the 'enemies' described in the Vedas remains unexplained.

Again, we have been hearing of different groups of Indo-European-speaking peoples coming to India in different ages and of the Vedic Āryans having had Indo-European-speaking precursors in India. But in that case, could they possibly characterize the older settlers as noseless black people? Here we see that the data for the solution of these problems are in hand at present. But, if the hints of the indologists be accepted that the Rig-Veda extends to a few milleniums and that the Rig-Veda contains two parts, demonstrating society from extreme primitive conditions to higher social integrations with classes and occupational groupings and with possible industrial organisations, then we shall naturally find time enough to see the cultural developments extending from the chalcolithic age as discovered in the Indus Valley civilization to the iron age of the later days of the Vedas, and from complete burial to complete cremation as mentioned in the Vedas, and as revealed by the discoveries of Mahenjo-daro and Indus Valley. This would go to show that civilization began in the period allotted to Mahenjo-daro and Indus Valley culture and it was continued down to the post-Vedic age; and that the history of civilization in India did not repeat itself by evolving all the stages of culture anew. Of course, this would not preclude a zig-zag course of the growth of the Indus

civilization which on the basis of this argument ought to be called the *Indian Civilization*.

As a civilization does not progress in a straight line but often has its zig-zag course, it is natural that Indian civilization had its progressive and declining curves and that various racial elements have contributed to its development. The anthropological discoveries clearly demonstrate that various racial elements have contributed to the growth of this culture, and that the Indo-European-speaking people have contributed largely to the growth of this culture. If the Indo-Aryans entered as barbarous hordes who conquered an old civilized people and were civilized by them in turn, as it is supposed to have happened elsewhere²³³ with

²³³ The discussion about the identity of the prehistoric and historic Indo-European-speaking Indus-Valley people raises the same knotty question as the relation between the Pelasgians and the Indo-European-speaking Hellenes. Craniometrical examinations have shown that in classical Greece types of different racial characters existed (*Wirchow, Über griechische Schädel aus alter und neuer Zeit*). "*Fasti Hellenici*" Vol. I says (pp. 92-93) that the Pelasgians were of the same race as the Hellenes. E. Curtius says that "the Hellenes had no tradition that they migrated to their country, they had no reminiscences in their traditions of a distant original cradle. The Pelasgians and the Hellenes were one nation...The one grew, the other disappeared, and the name of the Hellenes slowly become dominant (*Griechische Geschichte*, p. 29). Wirchow on craniometric basis supports the views of Curtius ("Die Urbevölkerung Europas" p. 18). But as Germanism would see Nordics in the Hellenes, various make-shift hypotheses are being advanced to solve this problem. Hence it is supposed that the Achaeans of Homer were Celts "who became Masters of the indigeneous race" and that the earliest inhabitants spoke a

the Indo-Europeans, then the question would come up as to when did this event take place. This would bring the question of the advent of the Vedic Āryans again to the forefront.

We think it is probable that the advent of the Indo-Āryans in India took place in a dim period which cannot be ascertained to-day and that it is far anterior to the date arbitrarily fixed by the Indologists with their bias of Nordicism. By a comparative study we have already seen that much of cultural elements are common between both the groups of people in question here. Hence, it cannot be said, that after the decline of the Indus Valley civilization, a new race of people called the "Āryans" began to develop civilization anew on the Indian soil. Rather on the basis of this comparison, we have reason to believe that the people of the Indus Valley culture and the Vedic Āryans belonged to the same ethnic-cultural group. The modes of the disposal of the dead bear out this fact. Hence, we may say that the Indo-Āryans were not strangers in prehistoric Indus Valley.

Thus we conclude that the absence of the Indo-Āryans in Mahenjo-daro and Indus Valley civilization is not proved; their presence is rather suspected as evinced by the modes of the disposal of the dead, and it is clearly discernible at Harappa.

language of the Aryan group. Hence both were of the same race.

Does not this problem bear the same tendencies as the Indian one? (*Vide.* W. Ridgeway—"The Early Age of Greece" Vol. I. pp. 628-680).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

Under the gracious patronage of His Majesty the King of Rumania, *The Seventeenth Session of the International Congress of Anthropology and Archaeology* will be held in Bucharest in September 1937. An organising committee has been formed to this effect with Dr. Angelesco as President. To encourage the study of Oceanian problems, a Society to be known as *La Société des Oceanistes*, has recently been established in Paris with M. Louis Marin as President and R. Grunevald as General Secretary. Its headquarters is 15, Rue de L'E'cole-de-Médecine, Paris (VI^e). The first meeting was held on February 20, when Prof. G. Montandon of the E'cole d' Anthropologie, gave a highly interesting illustrated lecture on 'Les Races du Monde Oceaniens,' (Races in Oceania). It is announced that under the auspices of the Carnegie Institute and the Universities of Columbia and Harvard an American Scientific Mission has recently started for Siam and Sunda Island for carrying on investigations on the social life of the anthropoid apes in their original habitat. According to their programme, they are expected to remain in North Siam for three or four months for studying the social life of the Gibbons after which they will spend some time in North Borneo, Java and Sumatra for studying the Orang-utans.

It is reported that a Franco-Brazilian expedition under the direction of Professor Claude Lévi-

Strauss and M^{me} Levi-Strauss, herself a Professor of Ethnography and Folklore in the University of Sao-Paulo will carry on field investigation for about four months among the Kaduveo and Bororo Indians who live in the South and centre of the province of Matto-Grosso in Brazil. The collections of this Expedition, it is stated, will be the property of the Trocadéro Ethnographical Museum of Paris.

The second Reunion of the COMITE INTERNATIONAL POUR LA STANDARDISATION ANTHROPOLOGIQUE SYNTHETIQUE, popularly known as S. A. S., was held at the Anthropological Institute in Vienna on the 3rd January, 1937. In the opening session, Prof. Fabio Frassetto of Bologna, the President of the committee, in a speech described at length the works done by the committee for the last two years. References were, however, made in that connection to the valuable collaboration made by Prof. Eugen Fischer, Charles B. Davenport, Joseph Weninger, V. Bunak, G. Montandon, W. Brandt, G. Viola and other celebrated anthropologists of Europe. The communications that were read and discussed before the Assembly were mostly confined to Race, Family, and Constitution. The following are some of the interesting papers read there: Bunak, V., 'On the classification of constitution in Anthropology'; Brandt, W., 'Remarks on Bunak's Paper'; Weninger, J., 'A method for the elaboration of the metrical characters in the anthropological study of family'; Bashkirod, P. N.—'The different constitutional types and the body proportions.'

In "OBSERVATIONS ON THE PILTDOWN CANINE TEETH," published in THE BRITISH DENTAL JOURNAL, vol. LXI. Nov, 16, 1936, No. 10. pp. 595-396, Dr. Alvan T. Marston, a dental surgeon, gives the result of his examination of the canine of the now famous Pilt-down mandible which reveals the following striking anthropoid features in it:—the curvature in the root and crown in the canine as opposed to the straight canine of man, (2) mesio-distal cross section of the root as opposed to the labio-lingual direction among the Hominidae; (3) "the order of emption and calcification" which "follow the same order of emption as seen in the Chimpanzee skull no. 7 of the Royal College of Surgeons collection, and not the human order."

These have led the author to believe that the canine is distinctly anthropoid and the species to which it belongs should not be considered "in the human line of ascent."

J. K. GAN.

The Twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress held its settings at Hyderabad in January 1937. The papers accepted by the section of Anthropology are summarised below:—

1. *A Comparative Study of the Kulin and the Snatriya Brahmins of the Rādhia Brahman community of Bengal.* T. C. ROYCHAUDHURI, Calcutta. Somatometric measurements of stature, head length, head breadth and head height, nose length, nose breadth, face length, face breadth, orbito-nasal diameter and orbito-nasal arc and the follow-

ing indices—cephalic index, altitudinal index, nasal index, facial index and orbito-nasal index have been considered. Besides these, skin colour, eye colour and hair structure are also taken into consideration.

2. *An Enquiry into Correlations between Age and Cephalic breadth; Age and Bizygomatic breadth; Cephalic breadth and Bizygomatic breadth of the people of Bengal.* Dr. BHUPENDRANATH DATTA, Calcuta.

3. *Somatometry of the Students of the Medical College, Vizagapatam. Andhra University, Vizagapatam.* R. KRISHNA RAO and A. ANANTHANARAYANA IYER. The paper deals with the somatometric study of two hundred students representing mostly the intelligensia of Andhrades'a along with others, furnishing detailed anthropometric measurements and principal physical ethnic criteria such as skin-colour, hair form and colour, eye form and colour, stature, weight, head form, nasal form, etc., usually employed for determination of racial affinities. The basis of classification are, age, sex, (all males) territorial and linguistic distribution, religion and caste. The various indices have been calculated and graphs photographed for fixing and ascertaining mean and model type, regarding stature, cephalic index, nasal form and other characters.

The study reveals, that the model height as indicated by the peak of the graph is 1675 mm. (above the middle height according to Topinard's grouping) that the dominant head form is *mesaticephalic* with an average of over 76 and that the mean nasal index is 73. (Platyrrhine type). Detailed descriptions and tabular statements of individual measurements are given in the body of the paper.

4. *The Anthropology of Brahuis.* C. R. ROY.

The account is based on the observations and anthropometric measurements of 100 individuals taken at Mahenjodaro (Sind) while working in the excavation. It contains general description of the physical features analysis of the metric data—results of the combination of the cephalic and nasal indices—comparison with the other racial groups specially with the Dravidian owing to the similarity of language—abbreviation—details, or measurements.

5. *Megalithic culture of the Khasis.* DAVID ROY, Assam.

The whole idea behind the ceremonies performed at the stone erection is to mark, by means of stone, the fact that the person does not die, and that his bones are collected and deposited. Stone in the Palæolithic age was the only available material that shows signs of strength and permanence; hence stones are erected, and in them we see the Khasi idea that permanence in life cannot be secured except in the connection between the living, and those who have passed over the border; and the food-giving ceremony (*aibam*) is continued for the dead, as Khasis believe that the dead influence the living in their life and property.

6. *The Negrito element in Travancore.* L. A. KRISHNAN, Trivandrum.

Early observers suspected a Negrito strain in the aboriginal population of India. Its existence among the Kadars of the Cochin State has been

several times referred to by Preuss, Sergi, and Haddon. The Uralis of Travancore seem to suggest the Negrito as much as the Kadar does. Occasional individuals with frizzly hair, low stature, and negro-like features are very suggestive of survival of the Negrito race. Quatrefages laid down that the Negritos are brachy-cephalic, though the mean cephalic index of the Kadars was dolicho-cephalic.

7. *Menstruation, Childbirth, and Marriage among the Kotas.* M. B. EMENEAU, Ootacamund.

A description of menstruation and childbirth observances among the Kotas of the Nilgiris, with marriage ceremonies as a pendant. Uncleaness at menstruation is contagious to the other women—ordinary men, diviners, and priests, in the ascending order of duration of the contagion. By seclusion and baths in successive stages—first in a seclusion house, then in a special house in the village, then in a woman's house. If the woman's period will fall within a festival, she undergoes a shortened purificatory rite in anticipation, and during menstruation she is regarded as ritually clean. The Kota view of menstruation is a legalistic one, rather than realistic. At the age of twelve and before menstruation a girl must go through a betrothal ceremony at the seclusion house. This is probably an initiation into menstrual observances to which a betrothal has been attached. At childbirth the first confinement is regarded as more polluting than succeeding ones. In ancient times the seclusion period was between three and four months, during which no person could approach the woman. Confine-

ments after the first (formerly after the second) involve the same seclusion as at menstruation.

8. *The Caste changes in Indian history.* M. H. KRISHNA, Mysore.

Though caste is to all appearances static, history gives instances of families and castes rising or falling or getting inter-mixed with other castes. A survey of some of the chief Royal dynasties of the Deccan and their matrimonial connections prove this fact. For example, the Satavahanas were Brahman̄s who inter-married with the Sakas of Surashtra. The Kadambas were Brahman̄s who became Kshatriyas, the Vardhana dynasty of Kanuj were Vais'yas who became Kshatriyas; the Pallavas are said to have been originally either of Persian or Kurunbar origin. There are traditions stating that the first dynasty of Vijayanagar was of Kuruba origin and the third one of Bhanta origin. These and other instances go to show that at least in the Royal dynasties, castes were flexible to a considerable extent.

9. *Geography and Sub-castes in Mysore.* M. H. KRISHNA, Mysore.

In the formation of sub-castes, geography played a considerable part in the past. The want of means of communication and the problem of distances often separated the castes into many sub-castes. This is proved by a study of some of the typical sub-castes of the Mysore State, for example, the Babburkammes, the Uruchukammes, the Siranadu Kārṇāṭakas, the Mandyam Iyengars, the Mardur Iyengars, the Malur Iyengars, the Hemmiga Iyengars, the Nonaba Vokkaligas, the Gangadikar Vokkaligas, etc. Thus many

sub-castes which are now endogamous were originally parts of a large caste, which were separated from each other by geographical barriers and became crystallized into separate sub-castes.

10. *The Cultural pattern of the Tharus.* D. N. MAJUMDAR, Lucknow.

Each culture has a certain goal towards which the behaviour of the group is directed and which their institutions further. The discovery of fundamental attitudes rather than the functional relations of every culture is important as it explains how certain controls of emotion, certain ideals of conduct which actuate the behaviour of the individual account for the persistence of abnormal attitudes viewed from the standpoint of our civilization. An analysis of Tharu culture, with a view to find out the fundamental attitudes and ideals, shows how inspite of changes in the contents of the culture, the configuration has a remarkable permanency.

11. *The Vagrant Castes of the Kotah State.* R. P. GONDAL, Lucknow.

The paper deals with the economic life and habits of a number of vagrant castes such as the Kanjars, Santias, Lohkutes. Most of the vagrant castes and tribes who wandered about with their females, children and all their belongings from place to place, some of them looting and stealing, others organizing regular bands and committing dacoities have now completely taken to settled life. The beliefs and practices of these castes have been described and their cultural life explained.

12. *Individual differences in Indian villages.* AMIR ALI.

This study consists mainly of diagrammatic representations of individual family incomes grouped according to castes in five different villages, two in the Karnāṭak and three in Bengal.

The argument is that while we are inclined to treat the Indian villages as more or less of one definite type, there are, on the contrary, an infinite number of differences even between villages of the same region. The diagram representing the contrasts between three adjacent villages in West Bengal and two villages in Raichur indicate how economically and socially each of these villages presents an entirely different structure, and how the problem of rural reconstruction is really different in each case. It is suggested that economic and social researches in the villages should also be organized on a thoroughly scientific basis.

13. *Comparative Anthropometry of a group of Saoras of both sexes.* D. N. MAJUMDAR, Lucknow.

On the basis of measurements taken by the author last year of 125 Saoras of both sexes living in R. Udayagiri in the Ganjam Agency tracts, the author explains the probable race elements among the Saoras.

14. *Women and social progress in India.* (MISS) THAKUR DAS, Lucknow.

The paper traces the growth of women's movement in India, the work of women societies, of women in public services, the professional status of women, their political status and training facilities for social service work.

15. *Agricultural Castes of Travancore.* K. C.N. GEORGE, Lucknow.

The paper deals with the social and economic life of some important agricultural tribes and castes of Travancore.

16. *Marriage-classes among the Tarao Kukis of Assam.* J. K. BOSE, Lucknow.

The Taraos are linguistically classed as a branch of the old Kukis inhabiting the hilly region in the south-eastern protin of the Manipur State in Assam. At present they have only one village with twenty-eight families. According to earlier authorities they had four clans but our investigations *in situ* reveal that one of the four clans has merged into another. The cyclic system in marriage regulation which was recorded by earlier authorities is still present among them with some of the modifications due to the decreasing number of the tribal population. The mother's brother's daughter's daughter is generally avoided—these facts were not recorded by previous writers.

17. *Slavery in Kerala.* L. A. KRISHNAN, TRIVANDRUM.

Slavery was formerly widely prevalent in Kerala. The Pulayans, the Parayans, the Malavetans, the Malankuravans, and the Pallans groaned under heavy disabilities. In 1762 the Honourble the East India Compay issued a proclamation against dealing in slaves, but slavery continued till 1854 in some form or other, when the penalties for dealing in slaves contained in the Penal Code inflicted the final blow to slavery in Malabar.

In 1812, 1853, and 1854, successive Royal proclamations of the three rulers of Travancore formally abolished slavery in the State. The removal of other minor disabilities followed as a matter of course. The whole-

some influence of these changes has awakened a new consciousness and stimulated in them a new desire to work for their economic salvation.

18. *A note on Sema anthropometry.* SARABJIT SINGH, Imphal.

The paper deals with the physical characters of one hundred Semas from the Naga Hills. The measurements taken include stature, head length, head breadth, face height and face breadth. Average indices are calculated from the crude figures.

Tradition states that the Semas are related to those of the Naga tribes who came out along with them from the Kezekenima stone. The present study is an attempt to compare them racially with some of those tribes and to find out how far their physical characters corroborate the tradition.

19. *The Ao :—Chongli and Mongshen.* SARABJIT SINGH, Imphal.

The Ao is divided into two distinct groups, namely, Chongli and Mongshen speaking different languages and having certain different customs. The cultural and social differences were studied in the monographs by Mr. J. P. Mills and Rev. W. Smith.

The author took some anthropometric measurements of the Aos during his tour to the Makokchung sub-division of the Naga hills. In this paper the author compares the physical characters of the two groups, and attempts to find out their racial likeness according to the formulae of Prof. Pearson.

20. *The Methi calendar.* SARABJIT SINGH, Imphal.

In the Methi's economical life, the annual calendar occupies a very important position. Every month

has a special meaning attached to it and brings in some fresh work for them. The months in the year are twelve in number of which two are supposed to be rotten. The year begins with *Sajifu* with usual ceremonies, merry-making and abstinence from work called *Silhenaba* for seven days.

21. *Preparation of Beer by the Loi-Manipuris of Sekami.* SARABJIT SINGH, Imphal.

Peculiarly enough among the Manipuri the Loi of Sengmai drink beer (*yu*) and manufacture it. To make it, yeast is prepared from husked rice. It is fermented and by a process of distillation a very strong alcohol is prepared. The various processes in the brewing are described.

22. *The Social and Economic Organization of the Nulia fishermen of the East Coast of India.* H. C. CHAKLADAR, Calcutta.

These fishermen live on the East Coast from Konarak to Vizagapatam and a little further to the south. Each village has a chief, and the head of the community is the Raja Mandasa near Waltair. The chief works through officers—the Kariji and Samitodu. They have a kind of cross-cousin marriage, and divorce can be obtained with or without reason for the mere payment of a fine. The women enjoy considerable independence. Their worship is accompanied by dreadful bloody rites performed by priests of their own community, the chief deities being the Mother-goddesses (*Sat-thissaktis*) though quieter. Brahmanic gods are gradually being included in the pantheon. There is good and sound economic organization for the catching and disposal of fish which they generally catch on the sea. They have two sets of names for each of the fish and

other sea-animals. Only the secret names which are generally euphemistic are used among themselves on the high seas. They have different names for even slight changes in the current or the aspect of the sea. The value of the total catch of a favourable season goes up to a thousand rupees or more.

23. *The Material Culture of the Rawaltas of Rawain.* S. D. BAHUGUNA and D. N. MAJUMDAR, Lucknow.

The authors give an account of the Rawain and the Rawaltas and their social organization. Their houses, villages, appearance, ornaments and decoration are described. Inventory of household articles is given ; their calendar of work, processes of production, agriculture, co-operative activities, division of labour, specialization, and economic magic are also discussed.

24. *Some Songs and Dances of Rawain.* S. D. BAHUGUNA, Lucknow.

A number of songs typical of the life of the Rawaltas have been selected. Of peculiar interest are the Bajuband songs which are love songs in the form of dialogues between lovers. These are sung either by two persons or two parties of opposite sexes especially in the neighbouring hills. Most of the songs are indecent viewed from the standpoint of our own cultural pattern. These dances are very popular. Even old people of sixty are found to participate in them. A description of the different forms of dances is given ending with the *rāgini* in which professional singers belonging to the low castes sing and dance to the accompaniment of music and move from field to field during

the harvest season, thus enjoying relaxation between periods of strenuous field-work.

25. *Harvest festivals in Coorg and Malabar.* L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA IYER, Palghat.

These festivals are socio-religious; and the customs connected with them are described in this paper.

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In *Man* for December, 1936, appears the summary of a communication from Mrs. Marguerite Milward who reports that she visited 16 tribes of India in 1935 to model heads of the aboriginal and other ancient peoples of the Deccan, and brought back the moulds of 36 heads to be cast in London and eventually put into bronze. The models included the Khatodis, a primitive jungle tribe of the Western Ghats, the Hill Bhil of Ajanta, the Lamani nomads to be found in every part of India, the Chenchu forest-dwellers of the Nallamalai hills, the Gonds, the hunting Haran-Shikaris, the Bhats of Hubli who pass themselves as Rajputs "but probably come from lower Indus and South Persia," Korwas, Bestars (Bestas?) and Waddars.

In *Man* for January, 1937, appears the summary of a communication by Mr. Verrier Elwin regarding *Myths and Dreams of the Baigas of Central India*. "Their myths and dreams indicate how strong and active are the primitive impulses of their old culture. Myth is still the motive-power and authorization of many tribal institutions: the driving of the rail which keeps the world in place, the offering of sacrifice, the cutting of *bewar* (for shifting cultivation), the cure of diseases, the war against witch-craft, are all traced to mythical events which established them as part of the social order. The only institution

which is not controlled by myth is exogamy, which is rapidly breaking down. Incest is not regarded with the same horror as by other tribes. The Baigas have an elaborate system of dream-interpretation. They attach considerable, but not excessive, importance to dreams which both express and reinforce their culture. A comparative absence of sexual inhibitions means fewer erotic dreams: the Œdipus complex does not represent their normal family-sentiment. Their most tormenting and readily-remembered dreams are the nightmares of anxiety and hunger. The Baigas have sunk into poverty; but many of their tales and dreams aim at dignifying the status of their tribe. They claim to have been born from the womb of Mother Earth before the foundation of the world and to be the *Bhumia Rājā*, "veritable lords of the earth."

Man for March, 1937, contains a short but informing note on the present state of *Land Tenures in the Central Chin Hills of Burma*.

In the *Journal of the Social Sciences* (Lucknow University) for January, 1937, appears the inaugural address of the Hon'ble Sir J. M. Clay to the First Indian Population Conference and the address of the convener Prof. Radhakanal Mukerjee on "*Population Capacity and Control in India*," and Mr. K. V. Madhawa's address on "*Vital Statistics*." The same number of the *Journal* contains an article on '*Marriage in Hindu India*' by V. R. Khanolkar, and one on "*The Primitive Races of India under Indo-*

Aryan system” by the late Dr. Panchanan Mitra.

In *Indian Culture* for January, 1937, appears a note by J. C. Ghosh on *Devadāsīs in Northern and Eastern India*.

In the *Anthropos* for January-April, 1937, Rev. S. Gnana Prakasar in an article on “*The Dravidian Element in Sinhalese*,” adduces additional evidence in support of the now accepted proposition that the grammar and syntax of Sinhalese are mainly Dravidian, although a large proportion of even common words is mainly Āryan. “That the language of early inhabitants of Ceylon, too, was a dialect of Dravidian, is proved by the Dravidian basis on which Sinhalese, the language of Ceylon in later times, stands built up.” The original words of the [Sinhalese] language went through a process of phonetic change, as a result of the lack of a written literature to hold the process in restraint. The original words of the language went through a process of phonetic change in the pronunciation of Dravidian words, while the former themselves were transformed to a great extent in the mouths of a foreign people.” A large admixture of Ceylonized Prākṛit words introduced by North-Indian Buddhist teachers formed an important element of Sinhalese.

In the first part of the first Volume of the *Adyar Library Bulletin* styled *Brahma Vidya*, Prof. F. Otto Schrader discusses the origin of the name *Kalki* (*n*), the tenth Avatāra of Hindu mythology, and concludes that “either both the names, *Kalki* and *Kalkin*, have emerged through the Prā-

krit from a now lost Sanskrit original *Karkin*, or the incapability of explaining the earlier name Kalki (of Āryan or Dravidian origin) has caused the formation of its etymologically transparent double." In a note to the same article, the origin of the word 'Kalā' (art) is traced to the Indo-European root (*S*) *quel*, "to split," this primary meaning of the root being found in *Kalā* in the sense of "small part [of a split whole,]," "digit of the moon," etc., with its secondary meaning, "skill, ingenuity" and "art," (cf. Eng. *skill*).

In the same number of *Brahma Vidyā*, N. Aryaswami Shastri contributes "Notes on *Pramāṇasamuchchaya* of Dinnāga"—a Buddhist work on Nāya or Logic; Prof. Dr. C. K. Raja edits the commentary by Mādhava on the first *aṣṭaka* of the Rīgveda based on a manuscript of the work deposited in the Adyar Library; Pandits S. S. Shāstri and T. R. S. Ayyangar jointly translate into English *The Yoga-Upanishads*; and Dr. C. K. Rājā contributes the first instalment of his edition of the *Devasvāmibhāṣya* on the *Ās'valāyana-grihya sūtra* based on three Manuscripts belonging respectively to the Adyar Library, the D. A. V. College Library (Lahore), and the Tanjore Palace Library. All students and lovers of ancient Indian religious and philosophical lore will eagerly welcome this quarterly bulletin whose aim, as Mr. C. Jinarajadasa says, "is not solely linguistic studies, but to disseminate throughout the world the significance of those studies as revealing the Divine Nature hidden in man." And finally, Dr. C. K. Rājā, under the heading "*Manuscript*

Notes. I," indicates the contents of a manuscript of "*Vārarucaniruktasamuccya*" deposited in the Adyar Library.

In the March (1937) number of the *New Review* (Calcutta), Father H. Heras, contributes a short paper headed "*Sumerian Epigraph*" by way of review of "*Ur Excavations. Texts II*". (Eric. Burrows). Referring to the connection between Mahenjodaro and Sumer, Father Heras observes that the proto-history of India cannot be studied without reference to the history of Sumer.

In the March (1937) number of the *Modern Review* (Calcutta), Dr. P. Banerjea contributes a concise but highly interesting article on *Economic Activity in Ancient India*.

The consolidated *Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1930-34, give certain details regarding archæological finds of the Sind Valley, Pāhārpur (in the Rajshahi District of Bengal), Nalanda and Taxila. The following extract from the Press Note on the subject issued by the Archæological Survey of India will give the reader some idea of the discoveries made during the last decade :—

"A linear measure with regular markings showing once again and confirming the conclusion already arrived at as a result of a discovery of graduated weights in the decimal and binary scales, that the decimal system was known and used in India in about 2700 B. C. was one among the interesting discoveries made

at the excavations at Mohenjodaro in Sind which were continued up to the end of 1931. Amongst the other important finds are a clay seal depicting a complicated legendary scene of tree-worship and a drawing of great interest portraying a river boat. Evidence has also been found about recurrence of floods which brought about the decay of the town.

“Excavations at Harappa, the other city of the ancients in the Punjab, conducted by Mr. Madho Sarup Vats, have resulted in the discovery, amongst other things, of a number of skeletal remains and pottery jars with skulls and human bones. These are about the only definite burials known of the ancient Indians in the Indus Valley. Another discovery as a result of recent excavations is a portion of the city which can justly be described as workmen’s quarters in contradistinction to the more substantially built and commodious houses of the rich and middle classes.

“A brief account is also given of Mr. N. G. Majumdar’s valuable explorations in Sind. These explorations reveal the existence of a number of pre-historic settlements, some in the hilly region and others on the banks of a lake, and add to the knowledge of the conditions of life in those far-off times.

“Other important excavations during the period covered by this report were, as noted above, those at Pahārpur in Bengal, Nalanda in Bihar and last but not the least at Taxila in the Punjab.

“The excavation of the lofty temple and magni-

ficent monastery of Pāhārpur which, started in 1923, has now been completed, together with the excavation of a similar site almost adjoining it, known as Satya Pir Bhiṭā, which is now identified as the temple of Tārā, the Buddhist Saviouress. The Monastery of Pāhārpur, measuring 299 ft. by 919 ft., contained nearly 200 cubicles for monks, arranged around a vast courtyard with an imposing four-terraced temple in the middle and various other structures at other points ranging in date from the 5th to the 11th century A. D. The structural complex at Pāhārpur is one of the most gigantic establishments ever found in this country. The credit for this magnificent piece of archæological work goes largely to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit.

“Nalanda, one of the most prominent centres of Buddhist learning and devotion over a thousand years ago, is now found, as a result of systematic excavations, to have consisted of a series of sacred shrines and monasteries erected in rows. Several further shrines and monasteries have been brought to light, although the operations are as yet far from complete. The most important discoveries at this site are some extremely fine stone images of Buddhist deities and a large hoard of bronze images belonging to the 6th-10th centuries A. D. Of many of these, photographic plates have been given in the report.

“The most intensive campaign of excavation conducted by the Archæological Survey at one place is at the ancient sita of Taxila, which has

from the earliest times dominated the approach to the Indian plains from the North-west. The present report contains the last contribution on the work at Taxila from the pen of that distinguished excavator, Sir John Marshall, who personally conducted this work for over 20 years and has left behind him in India a splendid example of how such work should be conducted. In an introductory review, Sir John summarizes his latest conclusions on the various influences that are in evidence at Taxila and gives an illuminating analysis of successive cultural strata which he has so skilfully unearthed. To the dozen or more sites comprised within Taxila, which have already been explored, Sir John has added two more, namely Bhamala and Kalawan Monasteries, which were cleared during the period covered by this report.

“One of the most interesting portions of the report deals with the discovery of Buddhist and Brāhmanistic wall paintings in Burma by Maung Mya. These are fully illustrated in the plates and the coloured frontispiece reproduces an exceedingly interesting and fine fresco of the 10th-11th century, a period of which no paintings had hitherto been known.”

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Architecture.

An Outline of Indian Temple Architecture by F. H. Gravely. Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, New Series-General Section, Vol. III., Pt. 2. (Government Press, Madras 1936). pp. 12as.

In this booklet, Dr. Gravely has given us an outline of the different styles of temples seen in India. He has defined the Dravidian, Northern Kadamba, Bengal, Nepal and Kashmir styles carefully and compared them with one another. In describing the Dravidian of Fergusson, he has tried to draw certain distinctions between its several sub-classes and proposed two new names to denote them, *viz.* Tamilian and Early Chalukyan. The treatment of the Northern or Indo-Āryan Style of Fergusson is, however, comparatively meagre. Subdivisions within that style might have been described on the basis of earlier work. R. D. Banerji once proposed the name 'Mālwa type' for one class of Indo-Āryan temples restricted to portions of western India. N. K. Bose similarly described two classes of Rekḥā temples in Oṛissā, while he also described an allied, but sufficiently differentiated, style from western Bengal. Spooner's Tirhut a type also forms part of Fergusson's Indo-Āryan. although he himself used to disown it. These might have been utilised by Dr. Gravely in describing the Northern Style. But that apart, the book will form a useful addition to the extremely scanty

scientific literature on Indian architecture, specially where it deals with South Indian temples.

N. K. B.

Anthropology and Ethnology.

The Kharias. By Sarat Chander Roy and Ramesh Chander Roy, (*Man in India* Office, Ranchi, 1937) Two volumes, Pp. 530+XIV+LXVIII Price, Rs. 11 *net*.

Dr. R.R. Marett in his foreword to the book writes, "I am sure this work is a model of how such research should be conducted.* *Let it be noted that the simple life ought to be, and as Mr. Roy proves, can be described in simple language."

Social Origins. By Eva J. Ross (London Sheed and Ward, 1936) Pp. 112. 3s. 6d. *net*.

In this volume, the author has given the substance of a short series of lectures which she delivered at the Catholic School Guild Summer School, Oxford. We have here, in a small compass, a succinct but clear discussion of the origins of life in the family, forms of marriage, methods of reckoning kinship, private ownership of property and rules of inheritance, the emergence of the state and of political forms and juridical procedures, and finally attitudes towards the dead and religious beliefs, practices and ritualistic forms. Current theories

are briefly stated and discussed, and the author generally endorses the latest authoritative and now widely accepted conclusions as to social origins. The book serves on the whole as a fairly good introduction to the elementary principles of social anthropology. The only defect which most critics might feel inclined to see in the book is the 'Biblical bias' for which such observations as the following might appear to be responsible: "It is extremely interesting to note that where these 'primitive' peoples in the remote corners of the earth are dominantly monogamous, dominantly theistic, and have definite notions of private property rights, those who have a more complex culture, those who have come in contact with other peoples, often bear signs of degeneration from a much earlier culture-pattern" (p.20). "Even if evolution of the material universe and of the body took place, nevertheless at some time in the history of the world this evolution must have ceased, and God must then have infused into the evolved body a human soul. * * * * In the very early days, therefore, when the faculties of the soul were unhampered by human frailties and sin, it is very conceivable that Adam and Eve, the first tiny social group in the world, lived in idealistic fashion. Indeed, the Bible confirms this as a fact. The progenitors of the human race were, as human beings directly created by god Himself, placed in an ideal situation and endowed with privileges beyond their natural demand. But the primal act of disobedience of Adam and Eve deprived

the human race of those advantages and left man to the spiritual and social struggle which has ever since been humanity's lot." (pp. 21-22)

Kings and Councillors : *An Essay on the Comparative Anatomy of Human Society.* A. M. Hocart (Cairo. Printing Office. Paul Barley, 1936) pp. 306.

This is a very valuable contribution to Social Anthropology. The author's theme in this book is that "The functions now discharged by king, prime minister, treasury, public works, are not the original ones; they may account for the present form of these institutions, but not for their original appearance. These were originally part, not of a system of Government, but of an organization to promote life, fertility, prosperity by transferring life from objects abounding in it to objects deficient in it. It is only by degrees that this organization has enlarged its sphere of action and modified its functions till it has become what it is now, a machinery to co-ordinate the activities of the community." The author has brought forward a large amount of cogent evidence in support of his arguments, and has sought to substantiate his thesis by strictly scientific methods. A special point of interest for Indian readers is the amount of sociological data drawn from ancient Indian literature in elucidation of the author's thesis.

Tylor, By Dr. R. R. Marett (Chapman and Hall, 1936,) Pp. 220. 6s. *net*.

The "Modern Sociologist" series of which Messrs Chapman and Hall have undertaken the publication, very appropriately begins with a volume on *Tylor*. And the publishers are to be congratulated on their most fitting selection of Tylor's eminent disciple and successor to the Chair of Social Anthropology at Oxford, Dr. R. R. Marett, as the author of this volume. A more illuminating, just and appreciative account in a small compass of Tylor's epoch-making work in anthropology and particularly sociology, could only be expected from one who, like Dr. Marett, was so intimately associated with the great master and who has himself been working so long and with such marked success in the same vineyard. An opening chapter on 'Personality and Outlook' and another on 'Anthropological Apprenticeship in Mexico', are followed by concise illuminating chapters dealing with Tylor's views on 'Language,' 'Magic,' 'Mythology,' 'Religion as based on Animism,' 'Development of Religion from Fetishism to Theism', 'Ritual', 'Religion and Morality', 'Society' and 'Material culture.' In the final chapter entitled 'Conclusion,' Dr. Marett thus graphically indicates Tylor's place as the pioneer of the modern Science of Man:—"From the Renaissance onwards ingenious minds pondered on human origins; and, of the three ultimate topics of philosophic interest,—God, Man, and Nature,—paid an increasing attention to the two latter, bringing

them ever closer together as they did so. Yet a decisive moment came, a new era dawned, when, a little past the mid-day of the nineteenth century, the world was made to realize that the Book of Life is a continuous story, of which Man is perhaps the hero, and certainly is the scribe; being yet but part and parcel of a serial of complex plot that is still developing towards some unrevealed climax. Fortunate in the time of his birth—the year of the Reform Bill—Tylor had reached his prime just when in England intellectual, following on the heels of political, liberation was calling for recruits in the inevitable struggle with the die-hards of the old order...It is the very candour of his literary style that disarms, that opens a path before his unaggressive but resolute advance. Even Oxford could not withstand him,—Oxford the reputed home of lost causes. He was honoured with the D. C. L., and and not long afterwards taken to the bosom of the University, to reside and teach there for the rest of his working days covering a quarter of a century. *Vidit, Vicit, Venit* would best represent the order of events in his career, since first he discovered, then prevailed in argument, and finally produced a School where it could take firm root. In short, he is the plain man, but the plain man of genius. If British Anthropology on the whole adheres to facts and to common sense, we owe it to him.’

History.

The Story of Indian Civilisation, By C. E. M. Joad (Macmillan, 1936). Pp. xii + 152. 2s. 6d. *net*.

This is a very thoughtful and thought-compelling book. As the author says in the Introduction, he has "not attempted to present a complete history, or even a history complete in outline, of India." In eighteen pages he gives a bird's-eye view of the pageant of Indian racial, political and social history, and then proceeds to select and set forth certain aspects of Indian history which have appeared to him significant and distinctive. His outline of the social and political history of India, though sketchy, is on the whole fairly accurate. In his account of the racial composition he has however followed Risley, though Risley's classification of the Bengalees as "Mongolo-Dravidian", and of the Marhāṭṭas as "Scythio-Dravidian" is no longer regarded as good ethnology. Whatever that may be, the author's estimate of the effect of the contact and intermixture of races in India appears to be sound, which can hardly be said of all foreign writers on India and their Indian followers. Mr. Joad very rightly, as it appears to us, concludes his first chapter, entitled, 'Sketch of Indian History: The Mingling of the Races', as follows: "To sum up, the mixture of races has widened the outlook of Indians, made them receptive of new impressions and accustomed them to the impact of new ideas. As a result, they are cosmopolitan in outlook, tolerant in behaviour and open-minded in thought." In the

second chapter headed "The Search for Truth and Perfection: Philosophy and Religion", Mr. Joad says, "Perhaps the most outstanding achievement of Indian Civilisation is Indian philosophy, and Indian religion, for.. these two phases of the activity of the human spirit, the speculative and the receptive, the one which explores the universe and the other which responds to it, in Europe distinct and at times opposed, are in India frequently indistinguishable." The distinguishing characteristics of Indian philosophy are, according to our author, continuity, unanimity, its relation to religion and conduct, and its conception of reality as a unity in diversity, and the application of this conception to the structure of society "while insisting that the end of life is spiritual fulfilment". Hindu religion "indicates the road—the way of life—which must be followed, if the end is to be achieved". "The Caste system", Mr. Joad thinks, "was a creation of the Aryans", meant "to harmonise in a single social whole so many diverse racial elements" and to "blend so many different traditions, rituals and customs into a single culture and a single religion". "But what it has become is something very different from what in intention it was; nor should we allow dislike of its contemporary vices to blind us to the difficulties which it was designed to meet, and to its considerably early success in meeting them." "It was their sense of being members of a common whole which for centuries precluded the occurrence among Indians of anything in the nature of what modern Europe knows as class conflict." As for

his estimate of the value of Indian philosophy, the author contents himself with the observation that it has not yet received from Western thinkers the attention to which its intrinsic merits entitle it. As for the general characteristics of Indian art, our author pertinently observes, "The Indian artist is a philosopher first and an artist second. He creates things of undeniable beauty, but their beauty is ancillary to his main purpose—the expression of spiritual truth." In the third chapter headed "The search for Beauty", the author gives a brief account of the history of Indian Art (sculpture and painting) from the prehistoric (Mohenjo-daro) period through the Vedic and successive post-Vedic periods down to the present day. Of the modern school of Bengali painting, the author writes,—"It is still expressive, religious and symbolic," it embodies "the same intention to express the mental and spiritual conceptions of the artists as has dominated Indian art during the great period." In the fourth chapter entitled "The Search for Expression," the author makes a rapid survey of Indian Literature, which is the fundamental form of the expression of Hindu creativity, through the ages, and says, "It is in literature that Indians have chiefly excelled, and it is to the discipline of scholarship rather than to that of science that they have with the greatest readiness submitted themselves." The fifth chapter, which deals with "The Art of Government," is prefaced with the general remark: "Indian thought has in general been more concerned with the good life for the individual, than with the good life

of the community" which "is not to be realised in communities of citizens but in the apotheosis of souls. It is, perhaps, partly for this reason that Indians have usually been badly governed and have been and are exceedingly poor." The evidence of ancient foreign observers like Megasthenes would, however, appear to run counter to such a sweeping generalisation in respect of all periods of Indian history.

In the sixth or final chapter entitled "The Impact of the West" the author makes a brief survey of India's present condition and gives his estimate of the mixed effects upon India of her contact with the West and her prospects in the immediate future, and concludes as follows:- "There is at the moment a danger that Indians may adopt the less desirable not only of the political but of the cultural ideals of the West and imitate the vulgarity as well as the aggressiveness of twentieth century Europe. The disabling weakness of modern Western civilisation is the disparity between mechanical power and social wisdom. Science has given Western man powers fit for the gods and he brings to their use the mentality of school boys. Exceeding all his ancestors in the possession of the means to the good life, the contemporary Westerner exceeds them also in his ignorance of how the good life should be lived."

Although the author informs us that he has never visited India and has had to rely for his view of it upon reading and fairly extensive talk,

the author's impressionist sketch of Indian civilisation would appear to give a more correct estimate than the writings of many a Western author who has spent years in India,

Technology.

Iban or Sea Dayak Fabrics and their Patterns.
By. Dr. A.C. Haddon and Laura E. Start. (Cambridge University Press, 1936). Pp. XV + 157 and 35 plates.

In this volume we have for the first time a full technical description of the manufacture of Iban (Sea Dayak) cloths and garments, together with an adequate account from the pen of Dr. Haddon of their decorative motives, illustrated by excellent drawings of designs and patterns by Miss Slant. The value of the account is further enhanced by information,—and in a very few cases where information is wanting, by suggestions,—with regard to the significance of the patterns and designs. Although the choice of the motive may to some extent correspond with the use to which the cloth is to be put, very many of the designs and patterns appear to have been adopted for some reason connected with Iban religious beliefs. As the authors say, "It is characteristic of the Iban, as well as of other peoples of Borneo, that the whole of their life is permeated with religious conceptions, and indeed no distinction can be made in their daily life between technical and religious operations: they are equally necessary.

In the background is the belief in *Petara* (spiritual beings)...It is futile to attempt any operation of importance without the assurance that *Petara* sanctions it, but this approval can only be ascertained by the messages that he conveys through omens. The most common of those messengers are omen birds. The designs and patterns on the cloths clearly indicate this psychic attitude towards everyday life. They may be regarded in some cases as being protective, to ward off dangers of various kinds, in others as being a means to obtain blessings and good fortune. Thus they express a constant reliance upon supernormal power and it is probably no exaggeration to say that these attractive people are literally clothed with prayers."

Linguistics.

The Brahui Language, Parts I, II. & III. By Sir Denys De S. Bray, I. C. S. (Govt. Printing, Calcutta, 1909 & 1934) Pp. 313. Part I, Rs. 2-8 as, or 3s. 9d.; Parts II & III, Rs. 7-14 as., or 13 s. 6 d.

The First Part of this valuable work was published in 1909 and contained the Grammar of the Brahui Language. In the Introduction to the First Part the author summarised the points of similarity in Brahui Grammar with the Grammar of the Dravidian languages of India, and ended with the query "Who are then the Brahuīs whose habitation is in Baluchistan, and whose language has to stretch

beyond their utmost ken over so vast a tract of country and over so many alien languages before it can reach its own kin in the languages spoken by the strange peoples in the far-off south?"

In the Third Part, Sir Denys Bray supplies us with an Etymological Vocabulary in which the origin or affinities of all loan words is indicated. In the Second Part, entitled "The Brahui Problem," after giving a brief history of the Brahui people, and cursorily noticing the phonetic and grammatical affinities of the Brahui language with other Dravidian languages and the faint sidelights that ethnology, comparative vocabulary and customs shed on the Dravidian problem, the author comes to the conclusion that though Brahui belongs to the Dravidian language-group, it has fully absorbed the alien vocabulary of Persian, Balochi, Sindhi, Jatki and other neighbouring languages; in spite of all inroads its grammatical system has remained true to type; but as for the anthropometrical test, "the Brahui has no physical trait in common with Dravidians which he has not in common with most of mankind," and moreover Brahui nursery customs, such as that of the artificial moulding of the head in infancy, tend to confound anthropometry and especially head-measurements. For all these reasons, the Brahui problem has long remained an unsolved and seemingly insoluble riddle but, as our author points out, with the unearthing of the Scind Valley civilisation and its analogues in Baluchistan, there appears to be at least a fair probability that future intensive

research in the field of Dravidian linguistics may reveal that even though the Brahui people "may have derived not a drop of blood from either the authors or hangers-on of the ancient (Indus) civilisation' the Brahui language "has descended from it with hardly a change in the framework of its structure." Hitherto the isolation of the Brahui language "has been inexplicable. To-day its survival on the very scene of the Indus civilisation unleashes such a pack of possibilities that Dravidian philologists are not likely to have the hunting-ground of research to themselves. The Brahui riddle, like the riddle of the Indus languages, remains unsolved. How dramatic, if both were solved together." Let us hope that these words may prove prophetic. At any rate, a similar thought and similar hope occurred to the persent reviewer when he visited the excavations of Mohejo-daro and Harppa a few years ago and talked to the Brahui labourers there about their traditions.

Sociology.

We, The Tikopia. :—*A Sociological study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia.* By Raymond Firth.—With a Preface by Bronislaw Malinowski (Allen, and Unwin, 1936). Pp. xxv + 605. 30s.

Tikopia is a small island in the extreme east of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, inhabited by some twelve hundred natives whose closest affinities are not with the people of the Solomons but with

those of Samoa, Tonga, and more distant groups to the east. They are thus a unit of what our author terms the "Polynesian fringe" in Melanesia. "Almost untouched by the outside world, the people of Tikopia manage their own affairs, are governed by their own chiefs, and are proud of themselves and their culture. They are primitive in the sense that the level of their material technical achievement is not high and they have been affected in only a few externals by Western civilization; at the same time they have an elaborate code of etiquette, a clear-cut systematic social organization, and they have developed very strongly the ceremonial side of their life. They still wear their simple bark-cloth, they live in plain sago-leaf thatch huts, they carry out the traditional forms of mourning, marriage and initiation...A large section of them still worship their ancient gods with full panoply of ritual, a condition almost unique in the Polynesia of to-day." Dr. Firth could hardly have made a better selection of a tribe for the study, through the functional method, of 'primitive' social organization and particularly primitive kinship system. And the book is a model of anthropological research by the employment of that method.

The author has analysed and discussed Tikopian kinship in this volume from various stand-points. He has first analysed 'the local grouping of Tikopia and found that their basic kinship unit is the family. The position of the family in terms of household arrangements has been defined. He next examines the relationships between the component

members of the family and shows "how the recognized genealogical ties emerge in concrete behaviour in situations of production and consumption of food, in education, bodily contacts, conversation and other minutæ of domestic life." Relationships between members of the family and those of associated units, whether linked by consanguinity or marriage, and their corporate activities are next analysed, and the linguistic factor in such relationship is discussed. Then follows an analysis of the relationship of individuals to their economic resources in land, of their reactions to the biological factor of sex endowment, and their crystallization in initiation or in the marriage of individuals. Analysis has been made of the repercussions of the acts of individuals, to show how they are integrated into sets of behaviour each with a guiding theme, and how these themes are related to one another. By way of concrete illustration it is pointed out how the avoidance of the use of names and oaths between brothers-in-law bears upon the system of economic co-operation socially enjoined between them and how this co-operation is related to the assistance afforded to a boy by his mother's brother at initiation.

In this way the author shows how in Tikopia, as in similar other societies, Kinship is the basis of association in the small households ; how it is the acknowledged bond between the members of the major named groups of society ; how it provides the link with elders and in part with chiefs, who exercise political and religious functions for these groups and for the society as a whole ; how it is the overt principle regu-

lating the ownership and suzerainty of land ; how by providing terms of address and reference, it furnishes a linguistic bridge between individuals ; how it is the common basis of assistance in cooking and primary economic co-operation ; how it stands behind a great series of duties, privileges, taboos, avoidances ; how it forms the basis for the congregation of members of the society on the birth, initiation, sickness or death of any one ; how, enshrined as it is in tradition, it bulks largely in the accounts of the origins of present-day social groups and the distribution of territory among them ; and, finally, how, being projected into the realm of the spirit-heavens it furnishes the basis for approach to ancestors and gods, and is used as the key to the interpretation of the disorderd behaviour of individuals in a state of dissociation. "On the whole it can be said of the kinship system of the Tikopia that its bonds serve as channels of communication for the members of the society, as a framework for economic and social co-operation, and as a factor of stability in throwing a recognized bridge between differences of material interest."

Space forbids our entering into Dr. Frith's instructive and interesting detailed analysis of the living social life and kinship system of the Tikopia as he observed them during a year's intimate personal contact with the people in their tiny volcanic island where he shared their home and outwardly almost lived their life.

The book will be warmly welcomed by students of anthropology as an outstanding scientific contribution to the study of primitive social organization.

Moslem Women Enter a New World. By Ruth Frances Woodsmall. (George Allen and Unwin, 1936). pp. 432. 12s. 6d. *net*.

This volume of the "Social Science Series" publications of the American University of Beirut describes the current movements and tendencies in the Moslem countries, particularly those affecting the position and status of Moslem women in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Iran and India with special reference to the customs of veiling, early marriage, polygamy, divorce, education, economic opportunity in professional and commercial life, health, political operations and religious attitudes. The author's insight into the life and mentality of Moslem women in the East is the outcome of intimate acquaintance and enlightened sympathy; and this together with the application of careful social research methods makes the book a valuable contribution to sociological literature.

Miscellaneous.

Typographia, Vol. I: Indo-Germanic Languages and Scripts. Numismatics Stamps. (Tylor's Foreign Press, London, 1936). pp. XIX+159. 5s. *net*.

In this volume, are illustrated the English, Oriental and foreign type faces in use at Tylor's Foreign Press (37, High Holborn, London, W.C. I). In the preface we are informed that for the foreign and Oriental side, the firm has requis-

tioned the services of Dr. Bruno Schindler, Ph. D., a prominent scholar of languages and scripts and a noted palaeograph, folklorist and scholar of comparative religion, and also an expert publisher and printer. The firm claims to be "in an unique position, by reason of the specialised knowledge and experience at its disposal, to offer advice to publishers, scholars and others on the most erudite methods to be adopted in printing scientific books, or to business men seeking openings for trade abroad, who may desire advice on the most productive form of advertising and its presentation in the vernacular". The volume contains specimens of various styles—early, mediaeval and modern, of Greek, Italic, Romance, Germanic and Celtic scripts, besides specimen pages of the monthly numismatic circular and stamp catalogue. From the types illustrated in this volume, the publishers' claim appears to be well-founded.

Philosophy..

Indian Thought and its Development, By Albert Schweitzer. Translated by Mrs. Charles E. B. Russel (Hodder and Stoughton, 1936.) pp. xii+277. Rs. 3-7. as..

Dr. Schweitzer's analytical account of Indian philosophical thought and its development shows a deeper insight into Indian mentality and thought development than is generally evinced by the average Western writer on the subject, although many Indian students

may not agree with the author in all his reasonings and conclusions. According to our author, what he calls "world and life negation", that is to say, an ignoring of the reality of the world and life, has inspired Indian thought from the very beginning; and although in the Vedas we see that the Āryans of Indian antiquity still passed their lives in a state of quiet simple joy of existence, and the singers of the Vedic hymns supplicate the gods to bestow on their votaries great herds of cattle and horses, success in all their undertakings, wealth, victory in battle, and long life, yet in these hymns Dr. Schweitzer reads the thought from which 'world and life negation' developed. The consciousness of being uplifted above the world, acquired through self-hypnosis and experienced in ecstasy is, according to him, the condition determining world and life negation.

"It had nothing to do with man as such, but was only for the supermen who as magicians or priests had the right to enter into communion with the super-sensuous Might and thus to attain to supernatural power. It was their privilege. It was of no use to ordinary people. So Indian world and life negation was originally associated with a magical idea dating from prehistoric times. It developed through the experience of withdrawal from the world in a state of ecstasy."

Although "the religion of the Vedic hymns is of a world and life affirming nature and contains ethical elements", and "Agni, Varuna and Mitra meet us in this religion as ethical divinities," and "in the Vedic hymns monotheistic tendencies assert themselves," "the Brahmins failed to further the evolution from polytheism to ethical monotheism which was here in preparation; and for this reason it did not reach its natural conclusion...The Brahmins showed no interest in the higher

development of the religion of their people. They were not preoccupied with ethics. Not religion but their priesthood and sacerdotal power was the object of their thought. Their whole endeavour was directed to piercing deeper into the secret of the Supra-sensuous to which they drew near as priests by means of the incantations accompanying the act of sacrifice, and with which they became one in the state of ecstasy. This magical mysticism contained the possibility of developing, and did actually develop, into a mystical world-view." "Although only in a primitive fashion, it was indeed concerned with the question of becoming one with Infinite Being." "At the outset the Brahmins were still fast prisoners of the belief that the secret of the Supra-sensuous lay hidden in the sacrificial rites, in the words of sacrifice, and in myths on which these were based, and that it might be discovered there. So with this in view they undertook to interpret the four divisions of the Veda, in which work the most arbitrary etymologies and allegories play the principal part. This was the beginning of Brahmanic thought. But then gradually they began further to concern themselves with the problem of the Supra-sensuous by natural observation and reflection. Among these their attention was attracted by the connection between life and breath, sleep, dreams, the facts that the plant is contained in the seed and salt in sea water. To be able to explain these and other enigmas of daily life, they assumed that all corporeal existence contains a non-corporeal, and that the spiritual world underlies the world of the senses...So the doctrine was evolved that the real essence of all things is something immaterial and eternal which derives from the primal cause of the Immaterial, from the World-Soul, and that it participates in the World-Soul and returns to it. The Supra-sensuous, in its entirety, the All-Soul (World-Soul) they called the Brahman... Under the influence of popular imagination the impersonal Brahman develops into a Brahman-divinity. He is represented as the highest God...Next we find the expression Atman (cf. German *atmen*, to breathe)...As, for the Brahmins the breath is the expression of the non-corporeal in man, they first use the word Atman for the immaterial part of the individual.

Later they advance to the use of the same word for what is immaterial in the whole universe. Their designation of Brahman also as "Atman" shows us the transformation taking place in their thought.

"But to become one with pure Being is something quite different from union with the Magic Primeval Force which was originally the object of priestly thinking. Now it is no longer a question of a union with the Supra-sensuous by withdrawal from the world."

The question of the highest Divine Principle which lies behind all the gods, and the relation of this Principle to the Universe, is developed in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads. The Brāhmanic doctrine of Universal-Soul-in-All-Things is only found in them in fragments, not yet as a coherent whole. But this is the meaning of the famous *Tattvam asi* ('That Thou art Thyself') of the Upanishads,—the mysticism of the identity of the souls of all beings and all things in the Universal Soul. Although the logical corollary of this doctrine would be an ideal of life demanding complete renunciation of the world, "Brahmanism has the courage to be inconsistent."

"It manages to combine world and life affirmation and world and life negation in such a way that it allows the Brahmin to pass the first half of his life (*Bramācharya* and *Garhasthya*) in world and life affirmation and only the second half in world and life negation.... It was only with Jainism and Buddhism that world and life negation began its great offensive...

"Because Brahmanism had set up for itself an ideal of life containing world and life negation and world and life affirmation side by side, it became a dam which stemmed the flood-waters of world and life negation which burst forth in Jainism and Buddhism. It is of fundamental importance for the history of spiritual life in India that Brāhmins on principle maintained the rights of marriage and the family against all onslaughts of radical world and life negation."

The author then goes on to opine that "Brahmanic mysticism has nothing to do with ethics. It is through and through supra-ethical." But he takes care to point out—

"The Brahmins do not assert that it is all the same whether man does good or evil. They know only a non-activity which is exalted above good and evil, but not a similar activity...All over the world the evolution of ethics is such that its first great achievement is the high estimation of truthfulness. Man makes the forward step from lower to higher ethics, not by the recognition of any kind of obligation of kindness to his neighbour, but by his condemnation of lying, deceit and perfidy. The duty of truthfulness always occupies the first place with the Brahmins...The Brahmins do not merely teach truthfulness: they observe it as well." "They declare that the one thing needful is right conduct and perfect knowledge."

REMARK. "In the Upanishads we find also the doctrine of reincarnation (*Samsara*), which is also called the doctrine of transmigration of souls (Metempsychosis)...The hymns of the Rig-Veda know nothing as yet of a cycle of re-births...The doctrine of reincarnation steps in to give ethics their rights by the side of a supra-ethical mysticism and at the same time place this doctrine at the service of ethics. Ethics gain the important recognition that from ethical or non-ethical conduct there ensues the higher or lower form of re-birth, and that by the constant practice of goodness is finally attained the highest form of existence, in which man becomes capable of the experience of union with the Universal Soul."

The author then proceeds to discuss the teachings of the Sāṅkhya philosophy, Jāinism and Buddhism and later Brāhmanism (including 'Bhakti Mysticism' and the teachings of the Bhagavad-Gītā); and "Modern Indian Thought" (as represented by great teachers and thinkers beginning with Ramanujā down to Ram Mohan Ray, Devendra Nath Tagore, Dayanand, Keshab Chandra, Paramahansa

Rāmkrishna, Vivekānanda, Gandhi, Rabindranath and Aurobindo), about these all-important topics. Space will not permit us to refer to our author's estimate of these later teachings. Most Hindu students will probably disagree with such views of our author as that "Bhakti piety takes its rise from the religion of the aboriginal population," or that as for the reason "why Indian mentality is so poor in works" "the guilt lies with a mode of thinking which involves withdrawal from the world," or that the attempts of Indian thought "to combine knowledge of the Universe and ethics into a single world-view" is "barren of results," and from this "the thought of mankind must advance to a position where it derives world-view from ethics." However these may be, this is a well-informed and thought-provoking book. And the translation by Mrs. Russel is clear and lucid.

Psychology.

Psychology and Practical Life, By Mary Collins and James Driver, (University of London Press. 1936.) Pp. viii+307. 5s. *net*.

Besides serving as a good elementary text-book for students of Applied Psychology, this handy volume will provide the general reader with a well-written and interesting up-to-date account of the practical applications of psychology to various problems of education, industry and social life.

An Introductory chapter delimiting the scope of Applied Psychology and defining its stand-point, content, and method, is followed by chapters on 'Individual Differences,' 'Childhood and Adolescence,' 'The Measurement of Intelligence,' 'Personality and Character,' 'Learning,' 'Vocational Psychology,' 'Psychology of work,' 'Psychology and Advertising,' 'Psychology and Health', and 'Psychology and Social Problems.' A Bibliography and an Index complete the volume.

Psychology and Modern Problems. By M. Ginsberg, C.G. Seligman, Ramsay Muir, H. Crichton-Miller, J. C. Flugel, E. Miller, and the very Rev. the Dean of St. Paul's. (University of London, 1935). Pp. vi + 241. 5 s.

This is a collection of a series of seven lectures organised by the Institute of Medical Psychology and edited by Dr. J. D. Hadfield with an Introduction. Prof. Ginsberg leads with a paper on "National Character and Natural Sentiment," which is followed successively by papers on "Psychology and Racial Differences" by Prof. Seligman, "Liberty, Authority, Democracy" by late Prof. Ramsay Muir, "Educational Ideals and the Destinies of peoples" by Dr. H. Crichton-Miller, "Psychological Aspects of Marriage and the Family" by Prof. Flugel, "The Artist in Modern Civilization" by Dr. Miller, and "Psychology and Future of Religion" by the very Reverend the Dean of St. Paul's.

These papers, as their titles indicate, cover a wide range of interest—political, educational, æsthetic, religious, and anthropological and sociological. Prof. Seligman in his paper discusses the evidence for “racial characteristics (which are often regarded as temperamental and dependant upon differences in physiological constitution) from the development of the brain and its effect upon psychic processes (as illustrated by the differences in cortical development of the Australian and the Chinese), and also as determined by the application of mental tests to different races. His general conclusion is thus summed up by Dr. Hadfield: “Genetic differences exist but there is increasing difficulty in defining their differences. National characteristics seem to change within a generation which implies that such characteristics depend much more on environmental conditions and human incentives than on innate constitutional factors”. Prof. Ginsbery's paper appears to support this view. And Dr. Hadfield points out that this conclusion “corresponds with what we find in psychopathology.” Space forbids our dealing more exhaustively with these illuminating papers and referring to the other papers, quite as valuable and interesting.

Science.

Scientific Progress:—*Sir Halley Stewart Lectures*, 1935. George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 7s. 6d. net.

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I was delighted to get your recent book on *Oraon Religion* and have reviewed it for the *American Anthropologist*. The

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SLAVERY IN KERALA.

By

L. A. KRISHNA IYER, M. A.,

In common with other parts of the world, slavery formerly prevailed in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore in full vigour. The Pulaya, the Paraya, the Malavētan, the Malankuravan, and the Pallar formed the tribes who groaned under slavery. The prejudices of the high caste people rendered their degradation complete. Rev. Mateer has recorded,—“He cannot use a public road. He should never approach a Brahman nearer than 96 paces, and must remain at about half the distance from the Sudras. He cannot enter the court of Justice. As he cannot enter a town or village, no employment is open to him except that of working in rice fields and such kind of labour.” He was a slave. His very name was a anathema and was connected with everything revolting. He was shunned as if infected with the plague.

In former times, slaves were let or transferred at the choice of the owner, were offered as presents to friends or as gifts to temples, and were bought, sold, and mortgaged in the same manner as the

land on which they dwelt or as the cattle or other property of their owners. The price of a slave varied from six to nine rupees. In some parts of the country, as much as eighteen rupees were given. Cases of horrid and aggravated cruelty in the treatment of slaves by their masters, especially of those who attempted to escape, were once numerous. Indeed one of the usual clauses in the deed of transfer of slaves was "You may sell or kill him or her. The latter privilege has now of course ceased." The higher castes viewed their presence with a mixture of alarm and indignation; and even towns or markets should be considered defiled by their approach. According to Ward and Conner, "the Sherumakkal are attached to the glebe, but real property, in absolute market value not much above the cattle, united with them in the same bondage and greatly below them in estimation."

"In almost every taluq in Malabar, the jungle tribes called themselves the slaves of the *jenmis*. In the olden days, when forests were sold, the inhabitants were actually entered in the contract as part of the effects, as, in former times, the landlord sold the *adscripti* or *ascripti glebae* with the land. Now that is not done. However, the relationship continues to the following extent. The tribesmen roam about the forests at will and each year select a place which has lain fallow for 5 years or more for all kinds of cultivation. At harvest time, the *jenmi* or his agent goes up and takes his share of the produce. He is asked to settle their disputes. The *jenmi* may call on them for labour, and they give it willingly. At the Onam festival, they

come with gifts for the *jenmi* who gives them a feast. The relation between the young folk and the *jenmi* shows the instinct in a primitive people to have a lord." Similar conditions appear to have prevailed among the hill-tribes of Travancore. Of the Malayarayans, Rev. Mateer says, "The Kānikār people, though freemen, paid head-money for themselves and all males who had died during the previous ten years, besides the usual land tax and ground rent and taxes on fruit trees, and were besides fleeced by the local petty officers. The services required furnished occasion for continual annoyance and exactions, men being seized by officials to carry cardamoms from the hills to the boats without pay; and if they hid themselves, as was natural, the women were caught, beaten, locked up, kept exposed to the sun and pouring rain, and all sorts of indignities were perpetrated."

The Pulayas were regarded with capricious indifference by their masters. "Whether Brahman, Nair, or Christian, all agreed in their oppression. They experienced little sympathy in sickness, when they were left to nature. They were never guilty of any violence to their masters, to whom they were absolutely obedient from the sluggish apathy of their character, which rendered them ever mindful of their lot. In case of indigence, a Pulaya uncle and mother might sell a child for about 14 to 17 rupees, and if a higher price had been given it would have been of no use to them, as the proprietor would take away the surplus. The eldest son was the property of the owner, but the mother had the right of redeeming the

first child for $4\frac{1}{2}$ rupees whether the possessor likes it or not." They were employed in agriculture and their services were repaid in grain, the wages being three measures of paddy for a man, two for a woman, and one for a child. Harvest to them was a period of comparative plenty.

In ancient times, slaves were held under three different kinds of tenure. According to **Slave Tenure.** Francis Buchanon, there were three modes of transferring the usufruct slaves. The first was *Jemn* or sale, where the full value of the slave was given, the property was entirely transferred to a new master who was in some measure bound by his interest to attend to the welfare of his slaves. The second manner of transferring the labour of slaves was by *Kanom* or mortgage. The proprietor by this receives a loan of money, generally two-thirds of the value of the slaves and a small quantity of paddy to show that his right over them still existed. He might also resume his property in the slaves whenever he pleased to repay the money borrowed without the payment of any interest. The third method of employing slaves was letting them out on *pattom* or rent. In this case, for an annual sum, the master lent them to another man who commanded their labour and supported them. The annual *pattom* or rent was $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per man and half as much for a woman. The last two tenures were abominable, as they were badly treated and their diminutive stature and squalid appearance certified to the want of nourishment.

Abolition of Slavery in British India. In 1792, the Honourable the East India Company issued a proclamation against dealing in slaves. A person offering slaves for sale was considered to be a thief. Both the dealer and the purchaser were severely dwelt with. Fishermen and Mappilas conveying slaves were to be severely flogged and fined at the rate of 10 rupees for each slave. Vessels used for the purpose were to be confiscated. In 1819, the practice of selling slaves for arrears of revenue was discontinued. In 1843, the Government of India passed Act V of 1843 by which the right of any person, claiming a slave as Jenmum, Kanom or Panayam, cannot be investigated by any of the public offices or courts. At the same time, it was proclaimed that the Government will not order a slave who is in the employ of an individual to forsake him and go to the service of another claimant; nor will the Government interfere with a slave's inclination as to where he wishes to work. In 1852 and again in 1855, the fact that traffic in slaves still continued was brought to the notice of the Government. The penalties for slave-dealing contained in the Penal Code which came into force on the 1st of January, 1862, inflicted the final blow to slavery in India, especially in Malabar.

Abolition of slavery in Travancore. Various measures for the amelioration of the condition of slaves and ultimately for their emancipation were adopted by the Government of Travancore. So far back as the 5th of December, 1812 (987M. E.), Her Highness Rani Gouri Lakshmi Bhayi issued a royal proclamation abolishing slave trade

in Travancore. It prohibited entirely the traffic in human flesh (which had been carried on amongst all castes other than Brāhmins) on pain of the severest penalties, confiscation of property and banishment from the country. This measure which was introduced by the Ranee scarcely a year after her installation was entirely due to her benevolence and far-sightedness. Her Highness thus proved herself considerably ahead of her age and in advance of the Honourable the East India Company, who had not then adopted definite prohibition of slave trade. Slave trade nevertheless continued in some form or other, the articles being the slave castes (the Pulayas, the Parayan, the Kuravas, and the Pallars.)

The first proclamation formally abolishing slavery to some extent was issued on the 30th Kanni, 1029 (14th October, 1853) by his Highness Marthanda Varma. All the children of "Sirkar slaves" born after the date of proclamation were declared free, but all caste distinctions and ceremonies or prohibitions were to be duly respected. No slaves could be sold in execution of decrees or orders of courts.

The slave castes could acquire and possess property and could not be legally deprived of property thus acquired and possessed. Persons doing wrong to slaves became liable to the penalties provided in Regulation VI of 1010. The slaves of property escheating to Government were declared free and could not be assumed as part of the property escheating. When slaves were sold, parents and children should not be separated ex-

cept by mutual consent, and no slaves should be sold or given away at a distance of more than 12 miles from their residence. When slaves did any work for the Sirkar, they were to be paid wages like other workmen. Slaves not older than 14 should not be compelled to work for which they may not be fit. All slaves incapable of doing any work by reason of disease or old age were to be looked and attended to.

The measures embodied in the proclamation of 1029 did not quite answer the purpose. At the instance of the British Government, another proclamation was issued in 1854 (12th Mithunamn 1030) by the same Maharaja, and it gave effect to a more thorough prohibition of slavery. The concessions granted were that all Sirkar slaves were declared free as well as their posterity, and the tax hitherto liable on them was abolished. No public Officer should, in the execution of any decree or order of court or for the enforcement of any demand of any rent or revenue, sell or cause to be sold any person or the right to the compulsory labour of any person on the ground that such person was in a state of slavery. No rights arising out of an alleged property in the person and services of any individual as a slave should be enforced by any civil or criminal Court or Magistrate, against his property. No person who might have acquired property by his own industry or by the exercise of any art, calling, or profession, or by inheritance, assignment, gift, or bequest should be dispossessed of such property, or prevented from taking possession thereof, on

the ground that such person from whom the property might have been derived was a slave. Any act which would be a penal offence if done to a freeman should be equally an offence if done to any person on the pretext of his being in a condition of slavery.

Since the emancipation of all the slave castes by the proclamation of 1030 and the removal thereby of all substantial disabilities and oppression, to which they had been subjected, the removal of other minor customary disabilities and restrictions followed soon and as a matter of course, and their condition has been one of steady progress and improvement.

In the year 1045 M. E. (1869 A.D.) orders were issued prohibiting the entry in depositions of the terms 'Adiyan,' 'Kidangal', which are very low and humiliating epithets attached to the low castes in their slavery state. Orders were also issued on the 26th Panguni 1045 removing their disability to enter public Kutcheries, which were common to all men, and requiring Peishkars to strictly arrange that no obstacle of any kind would be offered to their free access to such places, and that caste differences should not be allowed to interfere with the conduct of public business. The Peishkars were particularly cautioned to carry out the instructions in all Kutcheries down to the *Provarthi chavadi*. Public highways have also been used by the low castes, and in some places, public places have also been thrown open to all classes.

These represent the measures taken by Government for the amelioration of the slave castes. Rev. Mateer observes, "Although legally emancipated, the condition of the slave population remains very much as before; and perhaps it is well that there should be no violent convulsions of society. Though emancipated, they are even now in the same condition as formerly. They are still obliged to depend on their masters for maintenance. The extreme conservatism of their masters and their bigoted adherence to caste coupled with the primitive customs of the people and the physical configuration of the soil prevented them from having intercourse with the outside world and caused their utter degradation. The measures adopted by the Government of Travancore have been so well considered and gradual that their social uplift has been accomplished without any convulsions of society. They have begun to realise that they are no longer in a state of bondage. Public roads have been thrown open to all people without distinction of caste. All walks of life are now thrown open to them as much as to the higher castes, and the State departments and public schools with very few exceptions have been thrown open to them. The wholesome influence of these changes has awakened in them a consciousness of their faults and weakness and stimulated in them a desire to work for their salvation through their organizations.

II. THE KORWAS OF THE UDAIPUR STATE (C. P.)

By

MANINDRA BHUSHAN BHADURI, B. L.

[*Asst. Superintendent, Udaipur State*].

In the Census of 1931, only 12,434 persons are shown as speaking the Kōrwā language. Out of this, 12,134 are shown in the Central Provinces, namely 4,874 in Surguja State, 4,165 in the Jāshpur State, 1,176 in the Udaipur State and 1,170 in Raipur District (in the form of Koḍā language).

**Population
and
Habitation.**

This small community of little-known primitive tribe live, as it were, completely cut off from the rest of the world and in dread of their foreign neighbours and, until lately, were dreaded by the inhabitants of the States as half-naked, wild robbers, murderers and perhaps cannibals.

The oft-quoted reference to the Korwās by Col. Dalton in his *Ethnology of Bengal* is so graphic and correct that I make no apology for quoting the same here. He writes :—"The Korwas.—A few stragglers of the tribe (Kolarian), which under that name take up the dropped links of the Kolarian chain and carry it on the west over the Surguja, Jashpur and Palamau highlands, till it reaches another cognate tribe, the Kurs (Korkus) or Muasi of Rewah and the Central Provinces and passes from the Vindhyan to the Satpura range.....The Korwas

.....were at one time, masters..of the whole fieldand the first settlers. There were in existence.....four Korwa Chiefs, two in Surguja and two in Jashpur.....The Surguja Chiefs.....lost their villages.....The two Jashpur Korwa Chiefs.....are the only Korwa families left that keep up any appearance of respectability, and one of them is the hereditary Dewan of Jashpur, the Zamindar of Khuria Maini is the Chief of perhaps two-third of the whole tribe of Korwas.....The Hill Korwas are the most savage-looking of all Kolarian tribes. They are frightfully uncouth and wild in their appearance....."

And so they are to this day. The *Hill Korwas* or *Pahāriā Korwas* are distinguished from the *Dih Korwas* who are so called because they have settled in villages bordering on hills and have taken to *jhūm* or *beorā* cultivation, while the *Pahāriā Korwas* still live in the hills and jungles, in small temporary huts, and eat the flesh of the animals they kill, and, if possible, by sowing a few crops on ground prepared by burning the shrubs and jungles. This method of what is called *beorā* cultivation has been now stopped by the authorities wherever detected. Their other occupation of attacking unwary travellers and merchants and robbing them is now seldom heard of, though this practice of theirs has given the name of *Matringā* to a high hill-pass on the *Mainpāt* about 3600 feet high situated in the western border of the Udaipur State adjoining the *Korwa Zamindari* in the Bilaspur District to the south and the *Surgujā State* to the north. *Matringā* is an euphemistic form of 'Matringo' i. e. 'don't walk' or

travel [on this path, and beware of robbers]. One of the main highways of trade and communication between the north (Mirzapur District) through the Surgujā State and the south (Chhatisgarh) formerly ran across this Matringā pass.

The hill Kōṛwās and the Dīh Kōṛwās do not intermarry, and there has grown up a difference in their customs as well as religion.

In former times the hill Kōṛwās were so turbulent that Rājā Bindheswari Prasād Singh of the Udaipur State had to adopt strong measures to check their depredations and frequent raids into his territories. But this did not seem to have much effect and during the time of his successor Rājā Dharamjit Singh, more than forty years ago, attempts were made to induce them to adopt a settled life. This conciliatory attitude of Rājā Dharamjit Singh was successful to a great extent. The Rājā induced some of the Kōṛwā headmen, to act as guards of the few hill passes along the Mainpāt, and gave them full executive authority to the extent of not allowing other jungly Kōṛwās to enter his State and commit raids. In this way all the Ghāṭs or hill-passes along the Mainpāt, viz, Kumbhārtā, Sālkā, Kōm, Kanrrājā, Sur and Sālkhetā in the Udaipur State were colonised by a set of less aggressive Hill Kōṛwās, who enjoyed a monopoly, so to say, of the hilly tracts and sometimes robbed the Āhīrs of foreign territories who ventured to lead their herds for clandestine grazing within the Udaipur hills.

Some of these hill Kōṛwās descended into the plains and settled in villages Baturābahar,

Chāṇḍagarh, Bilḍegi, Kōkēakhār and Rhājrihap and gradually, within a short space of time, came to be known as Dīh Kōṛwās and they became so much separated from the Hill Kōṛwās, that inter-marriage and inter-dining between them is now out of the question. At present, there is one Kōṛwā Gāṇḍiā within the State who has been given a newly reclaimed village named Duhidāñr.

Racial Origin and Language.—Ethnologists have classed the Kōṛwās as a small branch of the Mūṇḍā race, the most powerful sub-family of the great Austro-Asiatic family,—the languages of which are the most widely distributed in the world from Madagascor in the west to New-Zealand in the east—and, as such, supposed to be the most widely distributed in time also.

The authorities state that, “The language of earliest civilisation in India had been a Mūṇḍā language and been superseded by the Dravidians of later arrivals”, and that the Central India plateau has been the meeting-ground of the various successive streams of civilisation, culture and language,—Kolarian, Dravidian and Indo-Āryan.

The geographical distribution of the Mūṇḍā languages in India is indeed very wide, inspite of the fact that many of the Mūṇḍā tribes and sub-tribes have lost their tribal languages. This loss has been most severe in the Central Provinces and less severe in the forest-clad outskirts of the Central plaseau. This accounts for the presence of small islands of communities speaking comparatively

pure Mūṇḍā dialects far separated and apparently having no connection with each other, each of these islands taking a local colouring from their foreign neighbours and other social and economic environments.

Such islands are the small communities of Gadabas of the Baster State and the Madras Agency, the Saonrs of the Madras Agency in the south, the Juangs in the jungle mahals of the Orissa States, the Santals bordering on west Bengal and the Korkus of the western parts of the Central Provinces (who for reasons stated above have lost much of the original characteristics of their tribal language by fusion with other languages).

The Korwas also form such an island, hemmed in by the Orāoṇs of the western part of Rāñchi (on the east), the Kāwārs and Gonds and various other cognate tribes of the Udaipur State (on the south), the Gonds and other tribes of Korea and Changbhakar (on the west) and the Hindus and Orāoṇs of south Palāmau (on the north).

Speaking of their racial origin and language, Mr. Russel, in his *Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces*, says as follows:—

“.....It is noticeable that the Korwās have a sub-tribe called Koraku and like the Korku, of the Satpura range, they are called Muasi—a term having the meaning of raider or robber. Mr. Crooke thinks that the Korwas and Korkus are probably branches of the same tribe, but Sir George Grierson dissents from his opinion. He states that the Korwā dialect is mostly closely

related to Asuri and resembles Mūṇḍāri and Santālī. The Korwās have the honrific title of Mājhi, also used by the Santāls. The Korbā Zamindari of Bilaspur is probably named after the Korwās”.

Commenting on this, Mr. Shoobert Census Superintendent of the C. P., in 1931, cleared the confusion about the Korkus and the Korwās by pointing out that “as far as the languages are concerned, Sir George Grierson’s ruling that they are distinct, although members of the same branch, must be accepted”.

Area of Distribution.—The Mūṇḍā branch of the Austro-Asiatic family of languages covers a wide area, with its centre at the north-eastern end of the Central India plateau, extending from about 24° Lat. in the Santāl Parganas (where Santālī is spoken), through the Chōṭānāgpur hill tracts—Mānbhūm (where Bhumij is spoken), Rañchi (where Mūṇḍāri is spoken), Singbhūm (where Ho is spoken) and then passes through the Orissā States—Pal Lahera (where Juang is spoken), to about 17° Lat. in the Ganjam and Vizigapatam Agency hill tracts (where Saora is spoken), and from there, extending a little to the North-west, into Bastar State (where Gadaba is spoken), it seems to disappear in the Central Provinces where the intermediate group of the Dravidian languages (Gondi, Kolami etc.) and Indō-Aryan languages—Hindi, Marāṭhi etc.) reign supreme. Of course, in the foregoing list, the Mūṇḍā dialects which have retained their tribal characteristics, more or less, are only mentioned.

Towards the west, however, the extension of the Mūṇḍā dialects have not been as unobstructed as in the south. In the west, the Mūṇḍās of Ranchi are hemmed in by the Orāoṇs of the western part of the Rāñchi district and south Palāmau, though branches of them radiated in all directions, but very few retaining their original tribal language, with the exception of the Koṛwās of Jashpur, Surguja and Udaipur States and the Birhōrs of Palāmau and Hāzāribāgh, with a few stragglers in the States of Jāshpur and Udaipur. The Koṛwās are thus a branch of the Mūṇḍās of the Chōtānāgpur who moved westwards into Jāshpur State, and then further west into Surguja and Udaipur States along the hill ranges, both north (from Khuria to Lahsan Pāt) and south (Mainpāt range) of Surguja, up to the Bilaspur district. The other Mūṇḍā waves of migration further west of Bilaspur District gradually merged with the foreigners and apparently disappeared. The Koṛwās thus became separated from the Mūṇḍās by an impenetrable barrier of Orāoṇs of west Ranchi.

The other Mūṇḍā branches which moved southwards are known as Bhuīṇyās and Savaras in the northern Orissa States or Gangpur, Keoñjhar, Bonai etc. (who have lost their tribal languages and speak Oṛiyā). The same Savaras of the Oṛissā States reappear as Sāoṇs of the Madras Agency tracts (who retain their tribal language), and as Sāoṇrās of the Chhattisgarh Division (with their languages lost), and then, with considerable gaps through the plains (they were either

pushed out into the hilly tracts or were absorbed by the foreigners), as Savaras and Saharias of western C P., Saugor and Damoh, northern Malwa and Gwalior, and as the Soñr of Bundelkhand.

Along with the Sāoñrs and Gadabas of the south the Bonda Parjās of Bastar and Jeypur are also supposed by Dr. Hutton to have had a Mūṇḍā origin. This hypothesis is supported by the existence of the Bondoma sub-caste among the Korḱus who are variously called as Bondoyas in the Pañchmāri tract, and Bhovadaya, Bhopa, or Bhopchi in Wardha (Russel).

Two other Munda branches which also moved southwards are known as Khāriās and Khairwars* who interpenetrate into Gangpur, Jāshpur, Sakti, Raigarh, Udaipur and Sarangarh States. Their languages are in the process of Aryanisation. The different stages of this process are an interesting study. I found three sections of the Khāriās in the village Kotba in Udaipur State. They do not intermarry, but consider themselves as different racially. The Mūṇḍā Khāriās have for their gods Singbonga, Burubonga, Chāṇḍibonga, etc. The Ḍelki Khāriās do not recognise these. Their God is *Bāranda Deota*.

The languages of the two sub-tribes, Ḍelki Khāriās and Mūṇḍā Khāriās slightly differ, as the following instances will show :—

* It is interesting to note here that the Birhors claim that "They and the Kharwars are of the same race and came from Khairagarh" (*The Birhors* by S. C. Roy, Ranchi).

<i>Delhi</i>	<i>Mūṇḍā-Khārīā*</i>	<i>Mūṇḍārī</i>	<i>English</i>
Āmā nimi	Āmā numā	Amā nutum	Your name
iā	chiā	chikān	what ?
Buā	Āpāng	Āpu	Father
Mā	Engā	Engā	Mother
Bhāi	Hāgā	Hāgā	Brother
O'-a'	Oṛā	Oṛā	House
Goti	Klii	Kili	Sept
Ina	Ing	Ing, Āing	I

The KORKUS, from Koṛā (man) and *-ku* (plural ending), are another branch of the same race, speaking a Mūṇḍā dialect. They live in the Mahadeo hills and the Melghat, and in the Nimar, Betul, Hoshangabad, Amraoti, Chhindwara districts of the Central Provinces (with its mixed sub-dialects, Muasi and Nihali, half Koṛku and half Hindi-Mārbāṭṭi).

The *Kols* described by Russel as another primitive tribe allied to the *Bhils*, and inhabiting the western Satpura hills and the Bombay Presidency are supposed to give their name to Colaba, and are responsible for the origin of the term "coolie" because they were usually employed as porters and carriers in Western India. This tribe is also supposed to be a western outpost of the Kōl or Mūṇḍā tribe, who intermarried with the Rajputs and were Hinduised. The Talbada *Kolis* of Guzarat and Kathiawar intermarry with the Rajputs, while the Pramara *Kolis* (who consider themselves to be of pure Rajput descent).

* This is the dialect of the hybrid community formed of the progeny of Kharia men by Munda women, and their descendants.

do not. The existence of "Khāngār Kolis" in Nimar suggests their Mūṇḍā origin, as there are "Khāngār Mūṇḍās" in Rāñchi district, who are considered as Mūṇḍās of a lower status.

The *Kohlis* (now Mārhaṭṭā speaking) of Bhandārā and Chāndā districts are also supposed to be an offshoot of the Kōl tribe, who migrated from Chōṭānāgpur to Guzarāt along the Vindhyan plateau and spread over the hills of Rajputanā and Central India (Russel).

The Kōls of the C. P. (Jubbulpore, Mandla and other districts) are evidently of Mūṇḍā origin and have lost their tribal language.

Even the *Bhils* of Central India and Rajputanā, are said to have "the basis of their language as Mūṇḍā, with an Āryan superstructure." The other small tribes having Mūṇḍā affinities are the Chero, Nāgesia, Nagānsi, Mājhwār, Mājhi, Turi, Māhli, Saoñta, Baigā, Binjhā, etc. and perhaps the Pandos of Udaipur state, scattered all over Chōṭā Nāgpur and the States of the Central Provinces and of the Eastern States Agency.

The language, then, of the Korwās is one of the most interesting studies, especially as, unlike their more fortunate and virile brethren of the Rāñchi district, their language is daily being supplanted by the languages of their more powerful neighbours, Āryan and Dravidian.

I give below a few of their words collected by me, showing their intimate relation with the Mūṇḍārī language.

A FEW KORWA WORDS AND PHRASES.

Terms of relationship.

Āpāng ... father (Mundari, *Āpu*. *Āpuing*=my father)

Āyā ... mother (M. *Āyo*, *Engā*)

Āyā-jo ... used in address

Lenij }
Beta } ... son (M. *Hon*, *Hon-te Korā*)
Babu }

Beṭi ... daughter (M. *Kurihon* or *Hon-te-Kuri*)

Ājā ... father's father or mother's father (M.)

Āji ... father's mother or mother's mother (M.)

Wogā-ing ... elder brother (*lit.* my brother, M. *Hāgā*)

Wogā-le ... eldest brother (*lit.*, brother among us) (M. *Bāu*)

Boho-ing ... young brother (M. *Boko-boyā*)

Ṭuniā ... youngest brether (M. *Huring-uteni*)

Mese-ing, }
Nuni } younger sister (M. *Misi*, *Butuni*)

Āji-ng ... elder sister (M. *Āji*)

Āimi ... wife (M. *Kuri*)

Kākā ... father's younger brother (M.)

Kāki ... wife of *kaka* (M.)

Barā ... father's elder brother (M.)

Barī ... wife of Barā (M.)

Māmi ... father's sister (M. *Hātom*, *Phuphu*)

Barī ... mother's sister (N. *Gāring*)

Tenian, }
Babin-dāmād } sister's husband (M. *Tenjāng*)

Sārā ... wife's brother (M. *Tenjang-Korā*)

Māmā ... mother's brother (M.)

Māmi }
Hātom } mother's brother's wife (M.)

Bhāchā ... sister's son (M. *Misihon* or *Gerehon*)

- Bhāchi ... sister's daughter (M. *Gere Kurihon*)
 Hānhar... mother-in-law (M. *Hānār*)
 Dulhā ... husband (M. *Kora*)
 Hārām ... husband (the wife will speak of her husband
 as *Inghārām*. It does not signify 'old,'
 as in *Mūṇḍāri*)
 Ing-orā-rej...wife (*lit.* of my house). (M. *ora gom-ke*)

Limbs and parts of the body.

- Ti ... hand (M.)
 Sop ... Upper part of the arm (M. *Supu*).
 Hātla ... arm pit (M. *Gore gote*)
 Ti-dālkā .. palm of the hand (M. *Ti-tālkā*)
 Ser ser ... finger (M. *Sārsār*)
 Mai-serser }
 Mur-serser } ... thumb or toe (M. *Engāṭopo*)
 Roṭā-serser }
 Nakhi ... nail (M. *Sārsār*)
 Kaṭ ... leg (M. *Kaṭā*)
 Peṭ-ked ... calf (M. *Tereng* or *Junkā jilu*)
 Bul ... thigh (M. *Bulu*)
 Dongē ... belly (M. *Lāi*)
 Kaṭ-dālkā palm of the foot (M. *Kaṭā-tālkā*)
 Kuṛom ... chest (M. *Kurām*)
 Hoṭo ... neck (M.)
 Sāohāri ... jaw, chin (M. *Joā-jang*)
 Oṭh ... lower lip (M. *Bochkor*)
 Annur ... lower lip (M. *Lācho*)
 Humu ... nose (M. *Muhu*)
 Dāḍhi ... beard (M. *Lātār guchu*)
 Mechha... moustache (M. *Chetān guchu*, also *Misi*)
 Med ... eye (M.)
 Med-hārāt...eyelash ... (M. *Med pipni*)

Med-kode...eye ball	(M. Nedrāja)
Lutur ... ear	(M.)
Lutur-ro... ear-hole	(M. Lutur tukui)
Bo head	(M.)
Sāmāng... forehead	(M. Molong)
Chuṭ ... tuft of the hair	(M.)
Ub hair	(M.)
Bele-ub... white or gray hair	(M. Pundi ub)
Kāriā-ub... black hair	(M. Hende ub)
Jāng ... bone	(M.)
Kuṭurom-jāng ... collar bone	(M. Hāsli-jāng)
Ālāng ... tongue	(M.)
Tiring ... tooth	(M. Dāṭā)
Pasar ... shoulder	(M. Tārān)
Deho, } Sindir }	...behind, back, back of the body (M. Doyā)

Time.

Angoj'-tā...morning (<i>lit.</i> , it is morning)	(M. Āng jānā)
Mid-dāng ber.. 8 to 9 A.M.	(M.)
Majnin-iānāi.. noon (<i>lit.</i> , it is noon)	(M. Muli-tikin)
Ber-ḍharkāo-enē...afternoon	(M. Dā bāsāng Singi or Tār Singi.)
Singār i-ānā } Singār }	...evening (cf. M. Singi-Āngu-jānā) (M. Āyub)
Nidā .. night	(M.)
Tikin-sing.. all day	(M. Singisaṭub)
Ber ... Sun	(M. Singi) [In Korwa, 'Singi' or 'Sing Bonga' is unknown.]
Āch or Bongo... Moon	(M. Chandu)
Torā basar... last year	(Torā signifies something past in time)
Iplij ... stars	(M. Ipil)
Tising ... to-day	(M.)

Gāpā ... to-morrow (M.)
 Holā.torā...yesterday (M. *Holā*)
 Termāng... day before yester-day (M. *Holā-terē*)
 Kālōmā-din... next year (M. *Kālōm*)

Directions.

Āguā-h-or...front (*Āguā hor sen me...Go ahead of me*)
 (M. *Āyār*)

De-ho ...behind (M. *Doyā*)
 Choṭ ...above (M. *Chetān*)
 Latār ...below (M.)

Numerals.

Mi ... one (M. *Mid*)
 Bā ... two (M. *Bār*)
 Pe ... three (M. *Āpi*)
 Bes, } more than three. Many (M. *Gādel*)
 Benes-bāgrā } *horoko*

Some verbs.

Sen ... to go (M.)
 Jom ... to eat (M.)
 Getej } ... to sleep, to lie down, to sleep (M. *Durum,*
 Āhij } *Giti*)
 Duṛu ... to sit (M. *Dub*)
 Āb ... to wash the face (M.)
 Sulij ... to breathe
 Āchi ... to sneeze (M. *Āchiu*)
 Gowir ... to scratch (M. *Gotā*)
 Chuchung... to urinate (M. *Duki*)
 Ij ... to pass stools (M.)
 Gog' ... to carry (M. *Go*)
 Giḍi ... to cut and prepare flesh [of animals killed]
 Got ... to pluck
 Ger-got'... to cut by teeth (M. *Ger*)
 Ārā-got'... to leave, to let off (M. *Ārā*)

Lejor	... to throw down	(M. <i>Hudumā</i>)
Lejor-got...	to let fall, after plucking [something]	
Uiya	... to fall	(M.)
Hāṇḍed-got'...	to shut up (e.g. a door)	(M. <i>Hāṇḍed</i>)
Ging	... to cut	(M. <i>Hād</i>)
Ngel-urung...	to recognise	(M. <i>Nel-urung</i>)
Kārij	... to quarrel	(M. <i>Eperāng</i>)
Do-ho	... to keep	(M. <i>Do</i>)
Nged'	... to run	(M. <i>Nir</i>)
Ngel	... to see	(M. <i>Nel, Lel</i>)
Āium	... to hear	(M.)
Inij	... to steal	(M. <i>Kumru</i>)
Ājom	... to feed	(M. <i>Ājom</i>)
Ngeta	... to sharpen	(M. <i>Ālāng</i> or <i>Leser</i>)
Kig	... to buy	(M. <i>Kiring</i>)
Ākring	... to sell	(M.)
Uich	... to jump	(M. <i>Kuril</i>)
Uliāo	... to cause to enter	(<i>Urij Ko pe uliāo, go</i> Take the cattle inside the house)
Goeā	... to be lost	(M. <i>Ād</i>)
Goe	.. to die, to kill	(M.)
Sārāo	... to graze cattle	(M. <i>Gupi</i>)
Hāb	... to bite	(M.)
Sāb	... to catch	(M.)
Hāsu	... to be ill, illness	(<i>Nei hāsu kidiji</i> —He has become ill) (M.)
Hāting	... to divide	(M.)
Ānjed	... to dry up	(M.)
Ānda } Don }	... to fry (<i>Utu don tā</i> —Fry the vegetable)	(M. <i>Ānda</i>)
Āsul	... to bring up, to maintain	(M.)
Boro	... to be frightened	(M.)
Āsi	... to ask, to beg	(M.)

- Āsi-jōm ... to eat by begging (M.)
 Ōl-gōt ... to write (M. Ōl)
 Itu ... to know (M.)
 Lurung ... to husk paddy (M. *Rurung*)
 Āming ... to cleanse (M.)
 Wer ... to sow (M. *Her*)
 Barrā ... to talk, to converse (M. *Jagar*)
 Enāij ... to begin (*Ete*)
 Uṛung ... to bring out (*Ber urung enāij*—The sun began to rise) (M.)
 Buhā ... to wash the hands and feet (M. *Ābung*)
 Āgui } ... to bring (*Dā āgui me kāt ing buhāl tā=*
 Āu } Bring water; I will wash my hands and feet)
 (M.)
 Iām ... to weep, to cry (M.)
 Lāndā ... to laugh (M.)
 Wokā ... to hang up, to suspend (M. *Haka*)
 Hālang ... to pick up (M.)
 Johār ... to salute (M.)
 Burum ... to hatch (M.)
 Dō, } ... shortened form of 'Dolā', meaning,—
 Du } come let us go. (This 'Dolā' is never
 used except in *Dolang*=Come, let us go;
 and *Du-mē*=You go.)
 Rowit-gōt ... to uproot (Cf. M. *Gōd' argu*—To pluck
 and throw down)
 Gādā-goet ... to dig out
 Uṣrāo ... to make haste, to expedite (M.)
 Siu ... to plough (M.) [*Do se nāgar siu*=Come
 let us go and plough. 'Se' is a contraction
 of 'Sen']
 Butā ... to work

Bāni-jom ... to work on wages in cash or kind (M.
Kāmi jom)

Do se butalang sen—Come let us (two) go to work.
[Do se bani-jom bu sen—Come let us go to work on
hire or wages.]

Ti-lāṭui ... to bury (M. *Topā*)

Gednā-gōt... to cut (M. *Hād*)

Hāb-gōt... to bite (M. *Hāb*)

Tākē ... to pick up and throw away (M. *Halang*
hudunā)

Bēlē ... to ripen (M.)

Ḍongā ... to get half ripe (M. *Gādar*)

Ir ... to cut paddy or other crops (M.)

Rā āgu ... to call [and bring]

War-gōt ... to drive away, to send (without the use of
force or compulsion.)

Deuer .. to return, to go back

Miscellaneous.

Huru ... paddy (M. *Bābā*)

Kōdē ... rice (M. *Chāulī*)

Sidhā ... cloth (M. *Lijā*)

Bā ... a negative particle (*Bāiāing-jom tā*—I
won't eat) (*Bāiātng sen tā*—I won't go.

Sengel bā noā } —there is no fire. { *Sengel menā*, There
Sengel bā ānā } { *Sengel ita*,
is fire.

Menā ... to exist, to be.

Iānā ... present participle, similar to 'jānā'—the
Mūṇḍāri suffix.

Bediā }
Idā } ... past participle, corresponding to 'Kedā'
Dā } the Mundari suffix.

(*Sene dāling*=we went.

Kārām senedā=when did you go?)

Kidi	... to do	(Auxiliary)
Tā	... future tense suffix	
Mārāṅ	... big	(M.)
Huṛiṅ	... small	(M.)
Guri	... cow-dung	(M.)
Dokrā	... old man	(M. <i>Hārām hoṛo</i>)
Seññi	... old woman	(M. <i>Hārām kuri</i>)
Lengij	... boy aged 8 or 9	(M. <i>Gupi-dāri hon.</i> or <i>Jontor</i>)
Wātu	... village	(M. <i>Hātu</i>)
Dinghā	... young man	(M. <i>Dāṅgrā</i> or <i>Seper-</i> <i>ed</i>)
Chunāṭi	... lime box	(M.)
Hāku	... fish	(M. <i>Hai</i>)
Hāmbāl	... heavy	(M.)
Hāru	... light (weight)	(M. <i>Rabāl</i>)
Deh' riā	... pregnant	(<i>Hāmbāl</i>)
Gāo	... sore, abcess	(M.)
Dur	... path, road	(<i>Do-bu dur dur bu sen</i> <i>ta</i> =Come let us go by the road) (M. <i>Horā</i>)
Sārā	... arrow	(M. <i>Sār</i>)
Āā	... bow	(M.)
Chuṭu	... mouse	(M.)
Sim	... fowl	(M.)
Sim-bili	... hen's egg	(M.)
Bili	... egg	(M.)
Āncher	... blind	(M. <i>Āndhā</i>)
Uri	... cattle, cow	(M.)
Merōm	... she-goat	(M.)
Ut	... vegetables	(M. <i>Utu</i>)
Māt	... bamboo	(M.)
Humbi	... knot or joint of a bamboo or of the finger	

Lolo	... hot ; heat	(M.)
Usum usum lolo	... a little hot	
Nāgar	... plough	(M. <i>Ārānā</i>)
Bokrā	... he-goat	(M. <i>Bodā meram</i>)
Bheri	... sheep	(M. <i>Mindi</i>)
Nā	... this	(M. <i>Ne</i>)
Nihum	... now, at this moment	(M. <i>Na-ah</i>)
Nā-ren	... in this place	(M. <i>Ne-re</i>)
Bele	... ripe	(M. <i>Bili</i>)
Ḍonga	... half ripe	(M. <i>Gadar</i>)
Tik'ku	... any insect or worm	(M. <i>Tju</i>)
Lepij	... insect which attacks paddy-plants (cf. M. <i>Lepen</i>)	
Titij	... bird	(M. <i>Cheñre</i>)
Kawā	... crow	(M.)
Mārā	... pea-cock	(M.)
Kul	... tiger	(M. <i>Kulā</i>)
Tāru	... leopard	(M. <i>Teñro</i>)
Selep	... small deer	(M. <i>Silig</i>)
Sarām	... the sambar deer	(M.)
Sail	... wild cow or buffalo	(M.)
Kulāhi	... hare	(M. <i>Kulāi</i>)
Barhej	... boar	(M. <i>Birsukri</i>)
Ghořej	... horse	(M. <i>Sādom</i>)
Bhaiñs	... buffalo	(M. <i>Kerā</i>)
Ot'	... earth	(M. <i>Ote</i>)
Ribil Rimbil }	... sky	(M. <i>Sirma</i>)
Kuhā	... cloud (Bes <i>kuhā dā deroā</i> = There is a good cloud, rain will fall)	
Hādurtā	... thunder	(M. <i>Hichir</i>)
Wercher tā	... lightening	
Dā	... water, rain	(M.)

Bitil	... sand	(Gitil)
Hasā	... charcoal	(Kuila)
Gati	... lime	(M.)
Sengel	... fire	(M.)
Sing	... tree	(M. Dāru)
Ul	... mango	(Uli)
Hoe	... air	(M. Hoyo)
Nāi	... river	(M.)

Pronouns.

Ing	... I	} (M.)
Āle	... we	
Ābu	... we	
Ām	... Thou	
Mai	... he, that, (person)	(M. Āe)
Ing-rā	... my [<i>Ing-rā</i> is sometimes replaced by <i>Ing-rij</i> , e. g. <i>Ing-rij-urij</i> = my cow. <i>Ingrij</i> <i>bāchhwā</i> = my calf.	

Sometimes, the 'rā' is omitted, e. g. in *Ing-orā*, *Ing-āimi*. *Ing-ā* is never spoken as in Mundari (M. *Ingā*)]

Āku	... they	
Ām-rā	... your	(M. <i>Āmā</i>)
Āig-rā	... his	(M. <i>Āeā</i>)
Ākurā	... their	(M. <i>Ākoā</i>)
Mi-hōṛ	... one person	
Bā-hōṛ	... two persons	
Pe-hōṛ	... three persons	
Chār-hōṛ	... four persons	
Pañch-hōṛ	... five persons	
Bes-hōṛ	... many persons	(<i>Benes-bagrā idān-kuā</i> = There are many men)

CASTE, RACE, AND RELIGION IN INDIA.

[Continued from Vol. XIV, page 311.]

By the Editor

IV.

1. **Probable Contributions of the Negritic and Pre-Dravidian Racial Elements to Indian Caste and Culture.**

In the last article of the series, we have seen that about half a dozen principal racial elements besides a few minor elements have entered into the composition of the population of India. These are :—(1) A probable Negritic element, long submerged, of which traces are supposed to survive in a few hill-tribes (such as the Kadars and the Urulās) of dark colour, short stature and occasional spirally curved hair, in the extreme south of India. (2) Certain long-headed, black or dark-brown Pre-Dravidian tribes of "Proto-Australoid" affinities, with hair varying from the wavy to the curly, with a small flat nose and broad short face, and occasionally with marked brow-ridges, speaking mostly either Mūṇḍā or Dravidian languages and now congregated mostly on the hills and plateaus of the Central Belt of India and in the hills and jungles of Southern India (where they have adopted Dravidian speech), but once spreading extensively also over Northern India where their traces still persist in the dark colour, broad noses, and certain cultural features of some of the lower strata of the population. This element is represented by

the Mūṇḍā tribes of Chōṭā Nāgpur, the Central Provinces and Central India, the Bhil and Koli tribes of Western India, and the Chenchus, Koṭās, Kurumans and most other hill-tribes of Southern India. This type is believed to be closely allied to the Vedda of Ceylon, the Toala of Celebes and the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula, and remotely to the Australian aboriginal among whom the special physical characteristics of the type appear in an intensified form.

(3) The short-statured, long-headed Draviḍian people of Mediterranean origins, with either a broad or a medium nose, straight hair inclining towards waviness, with skin-colour varying from light brown as among the Telugu Brāhmaṇa to a dark tawny brown as among the Kallan of the Southern Tamil country and the Illuva of Cochin. This race, now mostly congregated in Southern India, appears to have once spread extensively also over Northern India where marked traces of this element may still be recognised in the physique of the lower strata of the population and faint traces in the speech of the people.

(4) The broad-headed, generally straight-haired, Alpine or Alpine-Armenoid racial element of medium stature, with dark brown (and in a few cases light) eyes, long and highly pitched nose not unoften arched and convex, orthognathous face and a well-developed pilous system, and with skin-colour varying from a pale white and light brown to tawny brown. The Kāyasthas of Bengal, the Nagar Brahmins of Guzerāt and the Kanāḍa non-Brāhmaṇa are believed to be the typical representatives of the Alpine element in India.

(5) The broad-headed, broad-nosed, flat-faced, narrow-eyed Mongoloid type found all along the sub-Himalayan region from the Ladakhi and Chiang-pa of North-eastern Kashmir to the Rong or Lepcha of Bhutan; and the longish-headed and medium-nosed Mongolian type with the typical Mongolian characteristics of the face and the eye, constituting the chief strain in the population of the Assam hills and to a large extent of the Brahmaputra valley. The Angami Naga and the Mikir-Bodo group are good specimens of this type.

(6) The long-headed, tall-statured, long and narrow-nosed Indo-Āryan element with skin-colour varying from a rosy-white tint (as in the Kaffir of North-West Himalaya) to light transparent brown (as in the Brāhmins of the United Provinces and some Sikhs of the Pūnjab), with eyes generally black, but grey-blue in an appreciable number among the North West Himalayan tribes and brownish in a small proportion in the North Indian plains and the Pūnjab, and with the pilous system well developed. This element, though found more or less pure in North West Himalaya, Kashmere and the Pūnjab and, to some extent, in Rājputānā, leavens to some degree the higher strata of the rest of North Indian populations, and its cultural influence dominates the whole of Hindu India.

Besides these main elements, traces of Melanesian, Indonesian and Polynesian racial elements in the coastal areas of Southern India and on the Assam-Burma border are also recognized by some anthropologists. Other ancient foreign elements, such as the Scythian (Kushana, Huna) and the Bactrian

(Greek) have been entirely absorbed, leaving little recognisable vestiges in the Indian population of the present day,—whereas the more comparatively recent foreign elements such as Arab, Syrian, and Moghul have not fused but have remained more or less distinct racial and cultural units. The small Pārsi community in Western India, although retaining their distinctive Āryan culture more or less intact, can hardly be called a foreign racial element as they are the nearest kin of the Āryan Hindu.

We shall, in this and in the next paper, attempt to trace the respective contributions, if any, of the different pre-Āryan racial components of the Indian population to Indian culture and, more particularly, to the ensemble of features that go to make up the Indian caste system.

The main features of that system are :—(1) More or less hereditary normal occupation of each caste or class ; (2) Endogamy within the class or caste group ; (3) Hierarchical gradation of the castes, with generally a priestly caste at the top ; (4) Caste-government by Councils of Elders ; (5) Strict avoidance of water and cooked food from, and intimate contact with, castes regarded as 'impure' and therefore inferior ; (6) Belief in re-birth into suitable castes in pursuance of an inexorable law of Karma as applied to a previous birth or births ; and (7) Fixity or Inflexibility of the caste-status to which a man is born.

We shall now endeavour to discover, so far as possible, which of these features are more or

less universal among mankind and, as such, attributable to common human psychology, and which of them, if any, are the special contributions of any particular constituent racial element of the Indian population. The ethnographical data so far available would appear to indicate that the features enumerated above other than the last three or four are not peculiar to the Hīndu caste-system, but are shared, more or less, by comparatively advanced communities all the world over wherever social classes have evolved.

(1) Contributions of the Negritic Element.

Some ethnologists are of opinion that the original home of the Negrito peoples was the Indo-Austral regions now partially flooded by the Indian Ocean. The dispersal of the early Negritos from their common home might have been due to some natural cataclysm or to the advent of a more powerful race, perhaps the Proto-Australoids from the north-west. The sporadic appearance of individuals of dark, pigmy, Negritic features with more or less spirally curved hair among certain South Indian jungle-tribes have been noticed now and again by observers. The presence of a Negritic strain among such tribes as the Kadars, the Malasars, the Uralis or Urulas, the Pulyans, *etc.*, which has long been suspected by certain scholars, is now claimed to have been established by anthropometrical measurements taken first by M. Louis Lapique and recently by Dr. B. S. Guha of the Indian Zoological Department. Traces of a Negrito

substratum have also been noticed by Dr. J. H. Hutton in the population of Assam.¹²⁷

But no one has claimed, nor does there appear to exist any reason to suppose, that this submerged Negrito element had any contribution to make to the formation of the unique Caste-system of India. None of the existing Negrito peoples of the world,—the Mincopi of the Andaman Islands, the Aeta of the Phillipines, the Semang of the Malay Peninsula and East Sumatra,—possess any permanent social organisation higher than the family, much less any institution remotely suggestive of Caste. They do not appear to have even any tribal councils, although headmen of groups are not unknown.

Of the Negrito society in the Andamas, we learn from the first authoritative monograph on the Andaman Islanders that: "Caste distinctions are unknown".¹²⁸ And later writers, such as Sir Richard Temple¹²⁹ and Mr. A. R. Brown,¹³⁰ say nothing to the contrary. Until lately the Andamanese, like other Negrito peoples, knew only small impermanent local groupings which were essentially food-groups or associations of a few families for purposes of food-quest. Ten or twelve small local groups are, or until recently were, loosely grouped together in the semblance of a tribe, practically

¹²⁷ *Man in India*, VII, (1929) p. 64.

¹²⁸ E. H. Man, *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, (1885, reprinted in 1932), p., 124.

¹²⁹ *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. III, pp. 96 ff.; pp. 36 ff. *Anthropos*, IX (1904).

¹³⁰ *The Andaman Islanders*.

the only bond between them being local contiguity and the possession of a common tribal language. The only social division of the local group is into unilateral families. Even the clan organization is unknown. Each local group may have occasional friendly relations with neighbouring groups of the tribe ; - but quarrels between them are, or until lately were, not infrequent and led to protracted feuds. Though each group has something like a headman, he possesses influence rather than authority. His position is due to superior merit in war, chase, liberality, or wisdom. Marriages between neighbouring friendly groups often take place, although marriages within the same group except among close relatives are also permitted. Marriage outside the tribal limits is, however, generally tabooed. As among most other primitive tribes, almost absolute freedom before marriage and strict chastity after marriage appear to have been the rule.

At inter-group meetings, a prominent headman might influence the views of the assembly. The headman has also to supervise the customary measures to pacify malignant spirits.

As for the Oceanic Negritos, *viz.*, the Semang of the Malay Peninsula and the Aeta of the Phillipine Islands, they too are in the same unprogressive stage of communal isolation. They too have come to recognize the leadership of competent elderly men on occasions of differences among the family groups. But the power of the headman is very limited.

The Akka, Obongo, and other Negrillo tribes of the equatorial forests of Africa who are the counter-

parts of the Negritos of Oceania, are also strangers to anything like socio-economic 'Classes', much less anything like socio-religious 'Castes'. They know no distinction of rank whatsoever, all being on a footing of equality. Nor do they acknowledge the authority of any neighbouring tribe or enter into social relations with them. Of them, C. J. Burrows writes :—
"They are ... quite independent, and consider themselves under no obligation to the people of the tribe they may for the time be associated with, and hold themselves entirely aloof from other natives, among whom they neither marry nor are given in marriage."¹³¹

External physical conditions, particularly the very limited quantity of available food, limits the extent of aggregation and the size of the nomadic hunting and food-gathering human groups of the South Indian hills just as it limits the economic units of Negrito and Negrillo tribes and of similar other tribes on the same level of primitive culture, such as the Veddas of Ceylon, the African Bushmen, the Australian Blackfellows, the shell-gathering Fuegians, and the Ute (Shoshonee) Indians of the Rocky Mountains.

As separatism, and suspicion and avoidance of strangers are the essential features of Negrito and Negrillo societies, similar, too, we may reasonably infer, was the case with the Negritic original inhabitants of India. This separatist spirit is born of a fear and suspicion which is fundamentally different in character and origin from the sentiments and separatist ideas which

¹³¹ *Land of the Pygmies*, pp. 178-179.

contributed to the formation of the Indian caste-system. The only point of contact between the two systems of thought and feeling is perhaps the feeling of group-consciousness and tribal or communal self-importance which would appear to be innate and inborn in every human group. The present-day Kadars, Malasers, Pulayans, Uralis and similar other tribes of Southern India are still tribes in a comparatively early stage in the process of Hinduization and really stand outside the Caste system. Though in these, as in other primitive societies, there must exist individual inequality, there is no trace of class distinction or class inequality, much less any trace of the essential elements of the Hindu Caste system.

The only forms of social or economic grouping above the biological family that they know are the local groups like the *pathies* of the Kadars, which are aggregations of some twenty to thirty huts, each under the control of a headman called *muppan* appointed with their consent by the ruler of their land—the Raja of Cochin,—and the endogamous clan groups called *illams* or *koottams* of such tribes as the Malayāns and Pulayans. These simple groups are quite different in kind from the socio-religious organisation of the hereditary Hindu caste, of which the theory of re-birth regulated by an inexorable Law of *Karma* is the corner-stone, the various hereditary caste-divisions being ranged in a hierarchical series in their order of 'purity' determined by a spiritual ideal to which racial, economic or occupational and, in some cases, political factors are merely contributory.

Among the existing Negrito tribes, there is no belief in rebirth, except that the Andamanese believe that babies dying within a year or two of their birth and buried beneath the earth are re-born if their mothers become pregnant within that period. It has been supposed that the ancestors of the Andamense on leaving their original home descended down the valley of the Irawady and, after a long period of residence in Southern Burma, came in cultural contact with another people, presumably Dravidian, from whom they acquired this semblance of the doctrine of rebirth besides a few other cultural traits.¹³² The Negritos of the Malay Peninsula have no belief in re-birth:—The spirit of a dead person is believed “to journey to where the sun sets, and goes up”. A magical singing performance is held at the end of seven days, when the soul is supposed to be passing to the other world, and it is instructed not to loiter near the houses of survivors. Certain devices are also employed to prevent the spirit from visiting the camp of its erstwhile relations.¹³³ Some, however, say that the soul becomes a bird when it goes up. But Paul Schebesta¹³⁴ says that among the Semangs he never met with the belief in a soul-bird which, some say, brings the soul of the child into the mother's womb singing near the hut of the woman. This, he points out, is a Malay

¹³² T. S. Foster, *From Savagery to Commerce*, p. 69.

¹³³ J. H. N. Evans, *Ethnology & Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula*, pp. 18, 19, 25, 26, 39.

¹³⁴ *Among the Dwarfs of Malay* (translated by Arthur Chambers), p. 101.

belief which may have been borrowed by some Semangs. The Kadars, Uralis, Pullayāns, Nattu Mālayāns and similar other tribes of Southern India, in whom a trace of Negrito blood is suspected, although they have, to some extent, come under the influence of Hindu ideas, have no definite notion regarding re-birth, much less regarding *Karmic* law.

Living in an unspecialised society where all follow one and the same occupation there can be no room for a scheme of social organisation by occupational classes, much less by a rigid system of castes. Nor can there be scope for the growth of any tendency or attitude making for the caste spirit. Tribal endogamy is not peculiar to these tribes but indeed is almost an universal phenomenon among the lower culture. Even among people of the higher culture a strong predilection for class- and race- endogamy is generally found. Like tribal endogamy, the avoidance of food from, and contact with, alien peoples is born of a superstitious fear and suspicion of the unknown and uncanny, which is natural to the primitive mind.

Those South Indian tribes that are supposed to possess Negritic affinities, such as the Kadars, the Kongu Mālayāns, and Nattu Mālayāns and the Ullāṭāns recognise headmen (*Moopans*) of groups or settlements but have no Panchāyats or tribal councils. The headman of a Malasar hamlet (*pathi*), however, is assisted by a Panchāyat or council of elders. And so, too, is the headman among the Thāndā Pulayāns of Malabar and Cochin. But the recognition of

the authority of either a council of village elders or that of a headman or of a particularly clever old man, though it may bear a family likeness to caste-government by a *Panchāyat*, is a necessary feature of even a very rudimentary social organization; for organization implies direction or control and requires a controlling or, at any rate, directing agency. Even herds of certain wild animals and flocks of birds and swarms of bees, ants, and locusts appear to have their leaders.

Again, such food-taboos and touch-taboos as these tribes observe would appear to have originated in some cases, in beliefs of the nature of totemism and, in all cases, in magical ideas of the nature of the 'mana'-concept; and their ideas of ceremonial pollution or uncleanness would appear to be born of a fear of a dangerous supernatural influence attaching to certain objects, beings and situations. Thus, for instance, the Kadars have a horror of cattle and will not touch the ordure or other produce of a cow nor eat with the beef-eating Malasar tribe, nor carry shoes made of cow-hide, except under protest. Yet the very same Kadars¹³⁵ do not observe death-pollution, although they regard a menstruous woman as 'unclean' and 'untouchable' for three days and a parturient woman for three months. The fact that the Thanda Pulāyans will not eat with the Ullādans or Parāyāns¹³⁶ and will stand at a distance of ninety feet from Brāhmins and other high-caste Hindus, appears, however, to be due to Hindu influence,

¹³⁵ Thurston, *Tribes and Castes of Southern India*, IV. 396.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, VI. 27.

although these tribes are still in a comparatively early stage in the process of Hinduization and are not included among what are called 'Caste Hindus.'

Thus there can be no question of any contribution of the sub-merged Negrito element in the Indian population to the unique caste-system of the Hindus. Even the class-system, as I said, has hardly developed amongst any section of them. The slight deference paid to the headman in the group marks the bare beginning of a recognition of rank in society.

As for definite contributions of the submerged Negrito element to the culture of the Indian people, Dr. Hutton¹³⁷ suggests that the bow might have been bequeathed by the pre-historic Negrito of India to the race that supplanted him and that the cult of the *Ficus* tree might also be another contribution of the Negrito to Indian culture. Such suggestions are, however, highly speculative. The origin of the bow and arrow is lost in the mists of Palæolithic antiquity. And almost every country in the old and New worlds possessed the bow,—Australia, the home of a Black people, being perhaps about the only exception. Moreover, the Andamanese bow is somewhat different in shape from the Indian bow.¹³⁸ Of those South Indian tribes among whom Negritic traces have been noticed, it is among the Uralis alone that the bow appears to be still in general use. As for the cult of the fig-tree, too, E. H. Man tells us that "there is no trace to be found of the worship of trees among the Andamanese Negrito who is

¹³⁷ *Indian Census Report*, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, 397.

¹³⁸ Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (1933), pp. 91, 157, 174, 181, 262.

the nearest kinsman of the 'Indian Negrito'. Though another authority, Mr. A. R. Brown,¹³⁹ informs us that certain magical properties are attributed by the Andamanese to the *rāu* (*Ficus laccifera*) tree which is believed to be the home of unborn souls of children, E. H. Man¹⁴⁰ informs us that this tree is in *Chaitan* or Hades and not a tree that grows on the earth. Among the Indonesian Bataks of Sumatra, too, we find a belief in the past existence of a great fig-tree in heaven which sent down its roots to meet a rock that existed in the middle of the earth, thus enabling mortals to mount up it to the mansions in heaven, but the tree was cut down by a man because his wife who had come down its roots had again mounted back to heaven. The cult of the sacred fig-tree is also found among some African tribes such as the Akikuyu of British East Africa and the A-kamba of Kenya and in some of the islands between Australia and New Guinea.

The Vedic Āryans, too, appear to have regarded *As'vattha* or the *Ficus Religiosa* as the most sacred of trees, being emblematic of the tree of life with God as its aerial root up above dropping down innumerable shoots supposed to represent the universe in its myriad aspects. In fact, in several ancient sacred books of the Hindus, the universe (*jagat*) has been compared severally to the *As'vattha* (*Ficus religiosa*), the *Baṭ* or *Bar* or banyan tree (*Ficus Indica*) and

¹³⁹ *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands* (1932), p. 95. Man notes, "There is no trace to be found of the worship of trees".

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 87, 93.

Udumbara (*Ficus glomerata*) tree; and in the *Mahābhārata* (*Anusāsana Parva*, 149, 101), these three trees (*nyogrōdhōdumbaro's'vatthah*) are mentioned among the thousand names of Vishnu, the Creator. In the *Mundaka Upanishad*, (III. 1) the individual human soul (*Jīvatmā*) and the Universal Soul (*Paramātmā*) are represented as two birds sitting on the branches of the same *As'vattha* tree, one of them being engaged in eating its fruit. Similar references are found in some other Upanishads and in the *Bhagavadgītā* (X. 26, where God is described as the "*Asvattha* among trees"). The *Baṭ* tree is regarded by the Hindus as a representative of *Shashṭhi* or the goddess of offspring. In fact, these three varieties of the fig tree have from the earliest known times been regarded as sacred by the Indo-Āryans. On the other hand, no special cult of the fig-tree is found among the *Mundā* tribes of India who are believed to have absorbed the earlier Negritic population and, necessarily, some elements of their culture. Thus it may be doubted whether we have sufficient reasons for inferring that the cult of the sacred *figus* tree was a contribution of the now submerged Negritos to Indian culture.

Perhaps it might have been suggested with greater plausibility that the cult of the ant-hill, which the Andaman Islanders believe to be the residence of the evil spirit *Nila*, was a legacy from India's earliest Negrito population to their Pre-Dravidian 141

141 This term is used in this book as equivalent to or coextensive with the "Proto-Australoid", although some would confine the term "Proto-Australoid" only to such South Indian tribes as Kota, Kurichhan, Kuruman, Panian, Paliyan, Malasar, etc.

successors, for we find such Mūṇḍa tribes as the Khāriās of Chōṭa Nagpur, the Dhāngan shepherds of the Central Provinces, the Juāngs of Ōṛissa, the Kurumbā of the Nilgiris (Villiyān) and the plains Kurumbas, offering sacrifices at ant-hills on the occasion of certain religious festivals, and some Hindu castes using earth from ant-hills to build altars for certain socio-religious ceremonies. But any such speculation would be open to question. With regard to the ant-hill cult, it might with equal, and perhaps greater, plausibility be attributed to the serpent-worshipping Dravidian people inasmuch as the ant-hill is a favourite haunt of serpents.

However that may be, there is, as I have said, no adequate reason to suppose that the submerged Negritic element in the Indian population had any contribution to make to the formation of Caste.

(2) Contributions of the Pre-Dravidian Element.

A more definite and living factor in the composition of the Indian population and culture is the Pre-Dravidian. Culturally the Pre-Dravidian¹⁴² tribes fall into three or rather four economic classes or grades, represented respectively by the food-collecting (hunting, fishing and gathering) tribes such as the Bīrhōr, and the Pabīrā of Chōṭa Nagpur, the Nāhāl of the Sātpura Hills, the Kōṛwā of the Jashpur and Surguja States of the Central Provinces, the Irula of the Nilgiri hills and the Sholaga of Coimbatore and adjoining districts of the Madras Presidency. Shifting cultivators such as the Hill Bhūiṇyā of the Ōṛissa States, the Hill Reddi and the Koya of the Agency

tracts of the Godavari district in Madras and the Muthuvan of Travancore ; settled agriculturists such as the Mūṇḍā, the Santāl, the Bhīl, the Gond, the Binjhia, the Kīsān, the Poroja and several other tribes in the Central Belt and in the southern districts of India ; and industrial tribes such as the iron-smelting Āgarīā and Birjīā of Chōṭā Nāgpur, the basket-weaving Turī of Chōṭā Nāgpur and the Central Provinces, the Kaikar basket-makers of the Central Provinces, and the Koṭā artisan of the Nilgiris. The social organisation and religious system of these various groups vary in their degree of complexity, generally in proportion to the respective level of their culture. We shall now seek to trace what contributions, if any, the Pre-Dravidians may have made to the unique caste-system of India.

Most of the Pre-Dravidian tribes do indeed observe to this day certain taboos on food cooked by a stranger or cooked food touched by a stranger, and do not generally marry outside their tribal limits. The existing restrictions to tribal exogamy among these tribes might originally perhaps have not been as stringent as they now are ; and the present stringency may perhaps be partially attributable to later Dravidian-Hindu influence reinforcing the Pre-Dravidians' primitive sentiments of fear of the unknown and their magical belief in the evil *mana* of the stranger.

As an illustration of the primitive Pre-Dravidian's strong repugnance to strange arts and crafts and the consequent taboo, both commensal and connu-

bial, on the people who practise them, reference may be made to a religious myth of the Mūṇḍā tribe. The introduction of metal in the Mūṇḍā country created such a tremendous revolution in the social economy of the tribe and was at the time regarded with such fear and aversion that the black-smith community has ever since remained an object of superstitious fear and social taboo. And the following Munda myth gives expression to that aversion and fear:—Singbongā, the Sun-god who is the Supreme Deity of the Mūṇḍās, formerly lived on earth with his elder brother Bārāṇḍā by name. One day the two brothers, while out on a hunting excursion, were overtaken by rain. The younger brother ran home, but the elder brother, Bārāṇḍā, sought refuge from the rain in the hut of a black-smith (Lohār). A drop or two of water from the blacksmith's bellows dripped down on the body of Bārāṇḍā. Horrified at the pollution thus caused, Bārāṇḍā went home and sought the advice of his elder brother Singbongā as to what should be done. Singbongā told him that as he had incurred such an indelible pollution, he could no longer live with him. So Singbongā went to live in the sky as the Sun-God, and Bārāṇḍā was left on the earth to live upon such sacrifices as men might offer to him.

Thus strangers, and particularly strangers plying strange arts and crafts or possessing an unfamiliar speech, worshipping strange gods and having strange manners and customs, have always been objects of superstitious fear and avoidance to the Pre-Dravidian Mūṇḍā and to other primitive peoples. Such strangers are believed to ply their strange

arts and crafts with the help only of spirits of evil power; and therefore contact with them must be avoided as much as possible. Similarly, apart from a natural aversion to union, intimacy, or social intercourse with alien communities, the primitive taboo on marriage or intercourse with women of strange tribes who worship strange gods and observe strange customs might be due partly to a fear of the evil eye or uncanny potentiality of alien women who may also have for their familiars strange spirits likely to bring ill-luck to the family or the community of her husband.

Thus among the essential features of the modern Hindu caste-system, the commensal tabu and, to some extent, the connubial tabu, have been always observed by the Pre-Dravidian tribes from superstitious or what might be called "quasi-spiritual" ideas, and not from any idea of ceremonial purity as among Hindus. As for the other essential features of Caste organisation, namely, hierarchical gradation of the classes in the tribe and the superior position of the priests over the commonalty,—these would be generally repugnant to the essentially democratic basis of the social organisation of the Pre-Dravidian tribes. They know little occupational specialisation and occupational classes within the tribe, because the head of every family is its own priest. In most settled agricultural villages, a village-priest has indeed come to be elected for each village, and, in some places, his position has become hereditary; but all the same there is no social distance whatsoever between the priest and the rest of his fellow-villagers.

Although the priest represents the community in relation to the gods and is in that capacity sometimes regarded as a king (the "Pahān-Raja" of the Chōṭā Nāgpur tribes), he is essentially a *primus inter pares*, a chief among equals. Democracy, as I have said, is a marked feature of Pre-Dravidian social polity, and caste hierarchy would presumably be inconsistent with communism and democracy. In some instances, however, a partial hierarchical gradation of the different clans composing a tribe appears to have been introduced. This would appear to have occurred only in comparatively recent times, probably under Hindu influence, either direct or indirect, or has been due to historical causes, particularly respective priority of immigration, and numerical strength and consequent influence.

Thus, to cite one instance among the agricultural Dhelki branch of the Kharia tribe¹⁴² in the Jashpur State of the Central Provinces and the Ganpur State of Orissa: Of the eight principal totemistic clans into which they are divided, one clan named *Muru* (the tortoise) is regarded as the highest in social rank and next to it comes the *Samad* (a species of the deer) clan. Men of these clans alone may act as heads of the tribal councils and as chief functionaries at tribal gatherings and feasts. Two other clans, named respectively the *Topno* (a species of bird) and the *Mail* (dirt), are regarded as the two lowest in rank (who can only intermarry, the one with the other), and the remaining four clans called respectively the *Soren* (rock), *Bage* (the quail) *Barliha* (a species of fruit) and *Dungdung* (the eel) occupy intermediate positions. The other six clans will not eat cooked food at the hands of the *Mail* and *Topno* clans. This cannot be connected in their minds with the caste-sentiment, for they will make no scruples to take cooked food at the hands of altogether different tribes such as the Kherwar, the Kavar and the Bhuiya and even such Hinduised castes as the Rautia and the Gour Ahir. Although totemism was probably introduced

¹⁴² Roy, *The Kharias* (1937), pp. 128, 173-4, 193.

into India by the Pre-Dravidian or Proto-Australoid tribes, there does not appear to have existed originally any idea of social gradation among the different classes of the tribe; such gradations as have since evolved would appear to have been due to historical causes. Thus the difference in the social rank of the different clans of the Kharia tribe is accounted for by the tradition that the *Muru* clan was the first to reach their present habitat in the Jashpur and Gangpur States and the *Mail* clan the last arrival, the other clans arriving in the order of their present respective social precedence. The intervals between the successive arrivals of the different groups would appear to have been fairly long. In numerical strength, the highest or *Muru* clan with 73 families in the Jashpur State is weaker than the intermediate *Soren* clan with 90 families; the lowest or *Mail* clan consists of 25 families whereas the intermediate clan of *Barliha* has only 9 families to its credit. Thus the comparative population strength of the clans, too, could not have been the factor that determined the order of their social precedence.

Again, in the same State of Jashpur, I found even one of the most primitive of the Pre-Dravidian 'Kol' or 'Munda' tribes—the Korwa—recognizing some sort of social gradation among their clans. Thus of the seven clans of the Korwas in the Jashpur State, I found that four clans, namely, the *Hansda*, *Edgey*, *Muru*, or *Murihar*, and *Ginum* rank higher than the remaining three, namely *Rehla*, *Samat*, and *Singal* or *Singalwar*. According to some Korwas, the *Ginum* clan should rank socially with the lower division and not with the higher division. My first impression was that this was probably a case of dual organisation for purposes of marriage; but the genealogies that I collected showed that some *Ginum* families had marriage relations both with *Hansda* and *Edgey* clans of the higher division as well as with the *Rehla* clan of the lower division. My Korwa informants could only account for the social gradation by pointing out that the higher clans neither intermarry nor interdine with the lower. But from a census of the families of the different clans of Korwas of the Jashpur State, I came to discover what might perhaps be the real reason for this difference in social rank. I found that out of

the 500 families of Korwas in the State, 180 belonged to the *Hansda* clan, 171 to the *Edgey* clan, 78 to the *Muri* or *Murihar* clan, 50 to the *Ginum* clan, and only 13 to the *Rehla* clan, only 6 to the *Samat* clan, and only 1 to the *Singal* or *Singalwar* clan. The numerically smallest clans appear to have been the latest arrivals in the State from the neighbouring State of Sirguja. It would thus appear probable that as these clans are comparatively new to the Jashpur State, the older Korwa clans of the State are yet suspicious of the new-comers and have so far avoided intermarriage with the single family of *Singalwar*, the six families of *Samats* and the thirteen families of *Rehlas*; but as *Ginums* number as many as 50 families some cases of intermarriage have occurred and they now form the connecting link between the two social divisions of the tribe in the State. The question of 'purity' or 'impurity' of the different clans is never thought of. And further, the social superiority or inferiority of a clan appears to have no connection with priestly ministrations.

Moreover, the 'clans' of the aboriginal Pre-Dravidian tribes are not 'Castes', for clans are primarily exogamous whereas caste is essentially endogamous.

Again, it may be noticed that the comparative cultural advance of the plains-dwelling over the hill-dwelling sections of the *Khārīās* and some other existing Pre-Dravidian tribes has resulted in the formation of two or more cultural divisions among them. Thus, for example, the *Khārīās* are now broadly divided into three branches known respectively as the *Dūdh Khārīā*, the *Dhelki Khārīā* and the *Pahārī* or *Erengā Khārīā*, each consisting of several clans or other exogamous divisions. The first two are settled agriculturists and the last are nomadic hunters and food-gatherers. These different sections neither inter-dine nor inter-marry with one

another. The settled Khārīās consider themselves superior in social rank to the nomadic Hill Khārīās, but the latter do not admit the claim of the others to social superiority. Through the influence presumably of Hindu ideas, one section of the Dūdh Khārīās, now eschew beef as a food, and call themselves *Bar̥kā Khārīā* (or the Bigger Khārīā) and the other section who still take beef as *Chhōṭkā Khārīā* (or the Smaller Khārīā); and the former avoid inter-dining and inter-marriage with the latter. Here we have, among the Pre-Dravidian Mūṇḍā tribes, perhaps the first approach towards something of the nature of caste-distinction with its essential differentia of the idea of 'purity'. But the repugnance to beef-eating on which this division is based does not appear to be Mūṇḍā or Pre-Dravidian in origin, but a foreign idea readily borrowed from their Hindu neighbours as the adoption of agriculture by some Pre-Dravidian tribes had brought home to the tribal mind the usefulness of cattle and the need for their preservation, and the influence of the ideas and practices of their Hindu neighbours facilitated the adoption of the taboo on cow-killing and beef-eating.¹⁴³

Similarly, the Pre-Dravidian Nāgesīā tribe of Chōṭā-Nāgpur and its adjoining Feudatory States is divided into three sections,—the *Dhūrīā*, *Telhā*, and *Sindūrīā* groups. Of these the *Sindūrīās* claim a higher social rank than the other two because they have adopted the Hindu custom of marking the forehead of the bride with vermilion at her

¹⁴³ Vide Roy, *The Kharias* (Ranchi, 1937) Vol. I, pp. 9-10

wedding, whereas the *Telhās* employ only oil (*tel*) for the purpose and the *Dhūriā* section substitute dust taken from the sole of the bridegroom's feet. The *Telhā* and *Dhūriā* sections intermarry, whereas the *Sinduriās* will not enter into connubial relations with them. Among some of the most primitive Pre-Dravidian tribes, such as the *Birhōrs*, although the bulk of the tribe still lead a nomadic life and subsist by hunting wild birds and animals and collecting the produce of the forest, one section of them has settled down in villages and taken to agriculture and is called *Thāniā* or 'settled' in contradistinction to the nomadic or *Uṭhlū* (migratory) section. But intermarriage and inter-dining between the two sections still continue although the settled *Birhōrs* naturally prefer to marry their children in their own section, if possible.¹⁴⁴

Among other peoples of the lower culture, too, some difference in social rank has developed and hierarchical classes have been formed. But this developement could not lead to anything like the caste system of India.

Thus, Africa is a country of marked social differences. Negro chiefs, both secular and religious (such as the rain-makers), are treated with the utmost reverence and abject submission, and have about them a hierarchy of dignitaries who form an aristocracy, though not hereditary but appointed by the Chief; and slaves of two grades bring up the rear. The majority of African Negroes

¹⁴⁴ S. C. Roy. *The Birhors*, p. 47.

divide society into two classes which are, first, the Chiefs to whom a divine descent is attributed; then come the professional classes; and, last of all, the slaves. Even after death, the aristocracy and the commoners are assigned separate after-worlds.

In North America we find that the Carrier Indians (a division of the Déné) have developed three distinct classes or castes, namely, the hereditary *tenezes* or nobles, a middle class or *bourgeoise* whose position rests on personal property or wealth, and the common populace or masses; and the same three social classes are found also among all the western Déné tribes except the Sikani.¹⁴⁵ Within the tribe itself there were very little differences in social position leading to prohibitions against intermarriage and much less against inter-dining and other social relations. There was no sacerdotal nor military class, nor any servile or degraded section within the tribe; nor any differentiation of different sections on the score of any supposed standard of ceremonial 'purity.'

Turning to Pre-Dravidian village and tribal government, we find that almost all the settled agricultural Pre-Dravidian tribes of India north of the Vindhya,—the Mūṇḍā-speaking Mūṇḍā, Santāl, Savara, Bhūmij, Hō, Khārīā; the Bhili-speaking tribes such as the Bhils, Chodhras, Koli (now speaking Hindi), *etc.*; the Dravidian-speaking Orāon or Kūrūkh, Khond, Gond, and Mālē or Sauriā-Pahārīā,—all possess a more or less developed tribal

¹⁴⁵ C.Hill Tout, *British North America*, p. 146.

organization with one or more village head men and in most cases with a council of village elders to manage tribal and village affairs. Even such semi-nomadic Pre-Dravidian tribes as the Birhōr, the Asūr, the Juāng and the Kōrwā possess the rudiments of such tribal government. In fact, it is the more advanced sections of the Pre-Dravidian or proto-Australoid tribes who appear to have first established regular villages and village-organization in India, and some of these tribes have even organised regular federations of a number of villages. Some of them have traditions of rule in Pre-Dravidian India.

The Pre-Dravidian tribes of Southern India, have tribal and village organizations similar to those of their northern kinsmen. In Travancore, the Mannan, the Ullatan, the Kanikkar, the Malankuravan and some other tribes have developed village-organizations with their village headmen and councils of village elders; and some tribes such as the Muthuvans have a simpler organization with only a village headman (*Mel-vākā*) and his assistant (*Muthākka*), and some, like the Ullatans, have only a hereditary headman called *Kanikkaran*.¹⁴⁶

Although no separate priestly class or caste has evolved in these tribes, the village-priest (whether the office has been separated or not from that of the secular headman) is held in the highest esteem and in some tribes referred to as the "priest king" ("Pāhān Rājā" of some Chōṭa-Nāgpur tribes), for, in fact, religion is the pivot

¹⁴⁶ *Travancore Census Report, 1931, pp. 413—5,*

round which primitive society moves, and the minister of religion is therefore naturally regarded as the central figure in the community. Yet, neither among the Pre-Dravidian tribes of India nor among tribes on a similar level of culture outside India, even where two or more social classes have evolved and marriage is ordinarily confined within the same social class and sons generally follow the occupation of the father and some approach to hierarchical gradation of classes has been made and tribal government by Panchayats or councils of village elders exists, has the caste-system, as we know it in India, evolved.

Finally the Karmic law as the determinant of rebirth in a particular caste is practically unknown to these tribes or, at any rate, was unknown before they or some sections of them came into intimate contact with the Hindus.

The inference that we may draw from our imperfect knowledge of Pre-Dravidian India, derived mostly from our study of the surviving Pre-Dravidian or Proto-Australoid tribes of the country supplemented by most meagre hints in ancient Sanskrit literature, is that the Pre-Dravidians were composed of a congeries of tribes at different levels of culture and social organization,—some living as primitive hunters, fishers, and food-gatherers, some as primitive industrialists or artisans, potters, basket-makers, string- and rope-makers, etc., a very few as pastoralists, some as shifting agriculturists, some without any effective differentiation of occupation and a few as settled

agriculturists. These various tribes occupied different localities and differed from one another not only in occupation, but in their dialects, in social organization, in some of their customs and beliefs and in some of their gods. Owing to the primitive man's fear of the unknown stranger and also, to some extent, owing to a consciousness of differences in their respective ways of life, they naturally avoided, so far as possible, intermarriage and inter-dining between different tribes and, owing to conflict of economic interests and also perhaps sentimental prejudices, the different neighboring tribes or sub-tribes would not unoften be engaged in mutual hostilities. The extensive area and the vast distances of the country which separated different tribes of the same race and even different branches of the same tribe, and the differences in their respective physiographical and social environments, aided the multiplication of tribes and sub-tribes and naturally tended to produce mutual suspicion and prejudice. A few years ago a Proto-Australoid Hō of Chaibāssa (Chōṭā-Nāgpur) actually prosecuted a Tānti (Hindu weaver) in court for causing loss of "caste" to him and his family by putting into the mouth of the Hō's babe in arms the end of a cigarette that the Tānti weaver had been smoking ! ¹⁴⁷

Time instead of tending to unify and consolidate them into a few comprehensive groups

¹⁴⁷ The Magistrate. (Mr. S. Haldar) who tried the case gave me an account of the case. This Hō was not 'Hinduized.'

helped in multiplying the number of different endogamous groups, and in increasing the differences between them. Yet this Pre-Āryan era was not one of **castes** or **classes** but of **tribes**; there was no central authority like a priestly class or a ruling class that might seek to co-ordinate the different tribal groups or divisions of the people. Most Mūṇḍā tribes still generally keep themselves haughtily aloof from other tribes and castes of their area. Each tribe still regards itself as good as, or superior to, the others. Thus although the spirit of **separatism** that makes for caste would appear to have been rampant amongst the Pre-Dravidians, yet as there was no federation of these multitudinous tribes under one central authority or ruling class and no gradation of social status based on any guiding principle whether of occupation or 'purity' (either racial or ceremonial) or religious belief, a regular caste-system did not and could not evolve. Although they have their own system of **food-taboos** and **sex-taboos**, these spring from a crude idea of '**mana**' or of 'spirit-infection' and not from any idea either of eugenic cleanliness or of **ceremonial purity** as among caste Hindus.

Different sections of a Pre-Dravidian tribe do not possess each a separate **hereditary occupation** of its own; they have no definite **hereditary priestly class** at the head of a graded hierarchy of social classes; nor have they any definite creed of **rebirth** rigorously regulated by an inexorable law of **Karma**. Their **democratic** social and socio-political organizations and more undifferentiated economic organi-

zations, if nothing else, have so far prevented the growth of caste among them, inspite of the strong counter-influence of their caste-Hindu neighbours.

Thus, none of the essential features of the Hindu caste-system may be seen in these comparatively primitive societies. They have in general **no specialization of occupation** within the tribe; endogamy within the tribe (or even class where "classes" have begun to develop) is not peculiar to them but is shared by most tribes and races outside India as well; there is **little hierarchical gradation** among their clans, as among Hindu castes; such social gradations of the clans as may have developed in a very few of these tribes owe their origin, as we have seen, to historical or other accidental causes but not to any idea of ceremonial 'purity' or 'impurity' as in the case of Hindu castes; nor are tribal and village government by councils of elders their exclusive monopoly, for similar institutions are found in most societies of the lower culture in and outside India; and even many civilized societies in Europe in the middle Ages had in their trade-guilds counterparts of the Indian Caste-Pañchayat; and the existence of a hereditary priestly caste and any definite belief in re-birth based on a rigorous Karmic law, are, as we have seen, also absent. In these circumstances, the Pre-Dravidian element in the Indian population cannot be said to have made any direct contribution to the Indian caste-system.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

I. Scientific Congresses.

Under the auspices of the *International Union for the Scientific Study of Population Problems*, an International Congress of Population was held in Paris on the 29th July last. An interesting feature of this session was a general discussion on the following problems :—(1) The better method for studying the tendency of the natural movement of a population. (2) The differential biometry and bio-typology as methods for the classification of individuals and groups. The Congress then divided itself into following sections :—

(I) Quantitative.

- (i) Methods and general theory of Demography.
- (ii) Historical Demography. (iii) Contemporary Demography. (iv) Economic and social problems of the population.

(II) Qualitative.

- (i) Proper methods to characterise individuals (individual biometry) to determine types (typology), to define races (ethnology). (ii) Hereditary transmission of human characters: Race-mixture. (iii) Problems relating to Eugenics.

J. K. Gan, Paris.

The Indian Science Congress :—

The Twenty-fifth session of the Indian Science Congress will be held at Calcutta in the first week of January, 1938. A fair number of scientists from Europe are expected to attend the meetings.

II. Snake-Worship in Magadha.

A press-note issued by the Archaeological Survey of India informs us of certain important discoveries recently made at Rajgir in the Patna district of Bihar. It runs as follows :—

“Situated in the midst of hills, full of hot sulphur springs, in one of the beauty spots of nature, ancient Rajagriha had its strategic advantages,—for round about it lay the fertile plains of the middle Gangetic basin. The earliest settlers in Eastern India could not have failed to take note of this. No wonder, therefore, this ancient city continued for a long time to be the capital of Magadha, modern Bihar. The site itself is well-known, for there are innumerable references to it in the Buddhist sacred books and in the Purāṇas. It has therefore, for long attracted generations of scholars and antiquaries who have examined the cyclopean walls and the various remains still left in it. There is one monument in the centre of the valley which has received particular attention from the Archaeological Department. This is the Maniyar Maṭh with a modern Jaina shrine perched on the top of an ancient structure of a curious cylindrical design attributable to the late Gupta period. The find of this massive brick structure decorated with well-preserved stucco reliefs among which Nāga figures predominate, led Dr. Bloch to suggest that it was a kind of pantheon where serpent deities were worshipped, and that serpent-worship must have been the popular religion of the local inhabitants. Dr. Bloch also suggested

that one of the Nāgā figures might probably be that of Manikara or Mani Nāga, named in the Mahābhārata as the protector of Rājagriha, whose favour people invoked for rain.

“Last year’s operations at the Maniyar Maṭh brought to light a number of many-spouted water-jars and revealed the existence of two earlier strata of buildings, pointing distinctly to the continuity of snake worship from the early centuries of the Christian era. This year further discoveries have been made by Mr. G. C. Chandra, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, which confirm the suggestion that the building here was a shrine dedicated to Mani Nāga at least from the early centuries of the Christian era. An inscription discovered on a red sandstone sculpture, and engraved in characters of the 2nd Century A. D. brings out the name of Mani Nāgā whose favour is referred to apparently as being conducive to some benefit to the donor. The sculpture in question was found in various fragments during the last five years and, when pieced together, was found to reveal a row of Nāgas with snake-hoods on the head and several female figures or Nāginis, one of which has the inscription “ Bhaginī Sumāgadhī ” or sister Sumāgadhī. From her name, Bhaginī Su-Māgadhī appears to have been a protecting deity of ancient Magadha (modern Bihār). The finds afford a glimpse into the popular religion of the ancient citizens of Rājgir, and show that snake deities, both male and female, were worshipped, particularly for bringing in the much-needed rains, the association of snakes with rain being probably

due to the fact that snakes are more in evidence during the rainy season than at any other time of the year. The present discovery also shows how tenaciously names cling to certain places, the original association of the site with Mani Naga being to this day reflected in the name Maniyar Math; even after the lapse of some two thousand years."

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III. Sociology in Bengal.*

Academic or professional sociology has in India, as in Eur-America and Japan, been chronologically preceded as well as always supplemented by extra-University sociological output. Sociology, as cultivated in Bengal to-day, has a number of extra-academic and pre-academic sources to thank for its background and developement.

The *Bangiya Sāhitya Parishat* (Bengali Academy of Literature), established during the last decade of the nineteenth century, is to be regarded as one of the most influential pre-academic institutions of sociological along with other research. The *Patrikā* (Journal, established in 1893) of this *Parishat* has been func-

* Reprinted from the *Mount Magazine*, Madras, January-February, 1937. Some of the Indian journals mentioned in this brochure have been analyzed by me in the *American Sociological Review* for August 1936 and April 1937. For academic sociology see my *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937), pp. 650-661.—B. K. Sarkar.

tioning for over forty years as the organ of first-hand investigations in folk-lore, social mores, cultural institutions, historical developments, etc. The work of Hara Prasad Sastri, Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, Rakhal Das Banerjee, Nagendra Nath Vasu, Dines Chandra Sen, Amulya Charan Vidyabhusan, Haridās Palit and others has contributed much to the awakening of sociological sense among the Bengali intellectuals.

Trivedi's (1864-1922) researches in Vedic socio-religious institutions as well as in characterology, personality, activism and so forth deserve special mention. For the first two decades of the twentieth century, Trivedi's work may be appraised as of the same value in extra-academic sociology as that of Bhudev Mukerjee, founder of the *Siksha-Darpana* (Mirror of Education, 1864) and editor of the *Education Gazette* (1868), and author of works on family, society, customs and so forth, during the last generation of the nineteenth century. Trivedi's importance as a pioneer sociologist of the twentieth century bids fair to grow during the next generation.

Another pre-academic and extra-University source of sociological research in Bengal was the *Dawn* (est. 1897), the monthly edited by Satis Chandra Mukerjee. Among other topics of socio-cultural and philosophical interest, the problem of relations between the East and the West as engendered by culture-contacts used to arrest Mukerjee's special attention. The journal became the nucleus of the *Dawn Society* established by Mukerjee in 1903, and functioned as the *Dawn Society's Magazine* for three

years. When, as a result of Mukerjee's activities in collaboration with others, the National Council of Education was established in 1906 as an embodiment of the *Swadeshī Movement*, the *Magazine* became the organ of the national education institutions and ideals until it ceased to exist in 1913.

Investigations based on statistical reports, especially of the Government of India Census Department, constituted a chief feature of the Dawn Society's publications. Much attention was bestowed on rural society, the arts and crafts, the professional groups, the races and the castes. The papers directed the eyes of the *intelligentsia* to the anthropological topics of cultural, social and economic character as well as to the historical developments of institutions and ideas.

It is as pupils and colleagues of Mukerjee that Haran Chandra Chakladar (Calcutta University), Radha Kumud Mookerji (Lucknow University), Ro-bindra Narayan Ghosh (Calcutta University), the present author (Calcutta University) and others made their *début* in sociological, economic and historical investigations. Because of family and friendly relationships Radha Kamal Mukerjee (Lucknow University) also has to be linked up with the Dawn Society group.

Under the influence of the "ideas of 1905" the *National Council of Education* and the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* became the nuclei of several research societies in the districts of Bengal. The *Sahitya Parishats* at Rangpur, Dacca, Gauhati, etc. and the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi may

be mentioned in this connection. The Literary Conferences held under the auspices of these *Parishats*, central or local, were instrumental in evoking some first-hand field-work and socio-cultural and anthropological studies in the rural centres.

One of such societies, the *Maldaha Jātiya Śikṣā Samiti* (Malda District Council of National Education), established by the present author in 1907, used to maintain a special research department for investigations into folk-songs, rural arts, cottage industries, popular festivals, social mores, and the like. Radhes Chandra Seth, Bipin Bihari Ghosh, Haridas Palit, Kumud Nath Lahiri, Vidhu Sekhara Sāstri, Krishna Charan Sarkar, Nagendra Nath Chaudhury and others made some valuable contributions. Palit's *Adyer Gambhirā* (1912) formed the chief basis of the present author's *Folk-Element in Hindu Culture* (London 1917). Palit and Chaudhury have been associated with the *Arthik Unnati* ("Economic Progress") group since 1926 and the "*Antarjātik Banga*" *Parishat* ("International Bengal" Institute) since 1932.

The third prominent extra-academic and pre-academic centre of sociological research is to be seen in the *Rāmakrishna Mission* which has been in existence in one shape or other since Vivekananda's return from Eur-America in 1897 but was formally established in its present form in 1909. The monthly journal of this movement, *Prabuddha Bhārata* (Awakened India), was started in 1895. This journal, philosophical as it is, addresses itself not only to the topics of *Vedānta*, the *Upanishads*, the *Gītā* and so

forth as well as to professional religion and morality of all types, but indeed to every item of social relations and reconstructions. Topics of psychological, pedagogic, economic, socio-cultural and inter-racial interest have always been studied with attention by the editors and contributors among whom are to be counted writers representing the most diverse sciences and arts. The impact of this journal on the social thinking and practice of the intellectuals and the middle classes is immense. The Mission has also been conducting a monthly journal in Bengali entitled *Udbodhan* (Awakening) since 1898.

A short statement about the work of Indian sociologists is to be seen in Leopold von Wiese's paper, "Der gegenwärtige internationale Entwicklungsstand der allgemeinen Soziologie" in *Reine und Angewandte Soziologie*, eine Festgabe für Ferdinand Tönnies (Leipzig 1936, p. 14). Prof. von Wiese invites attention to *Prabuddha Bhārata* and Vivekananda's philosophy and observes, further, that the Indian sociologists of to-day are attempting to establish a bridge between the Brāhmanical culture of the old *Vedas* and modern society.

It is worthwhile to observe also that the first anthropological journal established by the Bengalis commenced under extra-academic auspices. In 1920 *Man in India* was brought into being at Ranchi (Bihar) by Serat Chandra Roy, then known chiefly as author of investigations relating to the Oraōns and Māndās. In recent years, thanks to the investigations of the late Panchanan Mitra and other members of the Calcutta University Anthropology Department

it has grown into an organ of the academicians as well.

From the Calcutta University's side patronage for sociological research is to be seen in part in the establishment of the *Indian Journal of Psychology* in 1926. The *Department of Experimental Psychology* is responsible for the initiation of this enterprise. The work of researchers from all University centres in India finds place in this journal. The contributions of Narendra Nath Sen-Gupta, Girindra Sekhar Bose, Manindra Nath Banerji, Suhrit Chandra Mitra, Gopeswar Pal and others have direct bearing on educational, industrial and other sociological research, both qualitative and quantitative.

Sociology is one of the topics of investigation and research at the "*Antarjātik Banga Parishat*" ("International Bengal Institute") established by the present author in 1932. Bengali is used as the medium for the studies and investigations. The monthly *Arthik Unnati* ("Economic Progress"), established in 1926, is made use of as the organ. This journal publishes chiefly the contributions of the *Bangiya Dhana-Vijñān Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Economics, established in 1928), conducted along the same lines and under the same auspices as the "*Antarjātik Banga*" *Parishat*.

The expansion of Japan, social life in Gujarat, the prisons of to-day, the economic and social aspects of Fascist Italy, the aboriginal tribes of West Bengal, social conditions in Persia and Spain, Indians in South-East Asia, industrial education in Dewey's Social Philosophy, the anthropology of animal sacrifice,

social ideals in British education, the castes of Bengal, municipal administration at home and abroad, Freud, crimes and punishments *etc.*, are some of the items which have engaged the discussions of the Sociological Division of the "*Antarjatik Banga Parishat*." Haridas Palit, Bhupendra Nath Datta, Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee, Debendra Chandra Dās-Gupta, Sarasi Lal Sarkār and others have contributed to the research output of this Institute.

Likewise does sociology come in for treatment among the themes discussed at the *Bangiya Jārmān-Vidya Samsad* (Bengali Society of German Culture), established by the present author in 1933. The work of Tönnies, von Wiese and Freyer, the Gestalt theory, *Winterhilfswerk* (winter relief) as a form of social service, and eugenic researches may be mentioned as some of the topics investigated.

Some sociological material is to be found, it may be mentioned in this connection, in the *Teachers' Journal* published by the *All-Bengal Teachers' Association*. This monthly journal (*est.*, 1922) has in recent years been improving in the form and matter of its output.

The *Mahabōdhi* (*est.*, 1892), conducted by the *Mahabōdhi Society* as a journal of international Buddhism, and the *Hindu Review*, the organ of the *Hindu Mission* (*est.*, 1925), furnish valuable data for sociological research. Antiquarian journals like the *Indian Historical Quarterly* edited by Narendranath Law (1926) and *Indian Culture* established by Bimala Charan Law (1934) deserve likewise to be mentioned in the sociological inventory of contemporary Bengal.

The castes began to be self-conscious towards the beginning of the twentieth century. The Census publications of 1901 served to give a fillip to this caste consciousness. The lead was taken by the Brahmans and Kayasthas, each group equipping itself with an association and a journal of its own. The movement acquired strength as a result of the Government of India Act, 1921, and the social reform ideology and legislation of the last decade and a half. To-day, the Mahisyas, the Sadgōps, the Tilis, the Suvarnavaniks, the Kaivarttas, the Vais'ya-Sāhas and many other caste-groups are fortified each with its own organ. Social mobility of the vertical type and of course of the horizontal type is the chief feature of the ideology pervading these *Caste-journals*. The contents of these journals furnish valuable indices to the economic and political as well as cultural dynamics associated with the *groupements professionnels* such as cannot fail to be of tremendous importance to scientific sociology.

The sociology of socialism and feminism is to be watched, in the first instance, in the journals run by or for the working men as well as by women. In the second place, the general dailies, weeklies and monthlies are rich in the sociological topics bearing on these classes. The special *Pujah* (Autumn) numbers of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, the *Pañchajanya* (Chittagong), *Sonar Bangla* (Dacca), the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Advance*, *Forward*, etc., can also be counted among the organs calculated to promote sociology, theoretical and applied.

Statistics and statistical methods have to be requisitioned by sociology as by many other sciences. The establishment (1934) of the *Indian Statistical Society* at Calcutta as well as its quarterly organ, *Samikhya* (Number), by Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, physicist, may therefore be listed in the *milieu* of sociological investigations.

Sociological theories, both Indian and Eur-American, constitute a substantial part of the contents of the *Calcutta Review*, the monthly organ of the Calcutta University. Short, introductory and bibliographical reports about the "societal categories in Eur-America from Herder to Sorokin" have been a feature of this *Review* since 1926-28. From the Indian side the contributions of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Kautailya, Kavikankan, Manu, Sukra, Chandasvara, Mitra-Misra, Nilakantha, Abul Fazl, Rāmdās, Rāmmohun, Rāmakrishna and Vivekānanda have also been the themes of some of the papers in this journal (1935-37). This *Review* addresses itself likewise to the anthropological, demographic, eugenic, psychological, criminological and pedagogic topics of analytical or formal sociology.

The time has come when Bengali scholars should establish an exclusive but comprehensive Institute of Sociology (*Bangiya Samāj-Vijñān Parishat*) on the lines, say, of the American Sociological Society. A journal in Bengali given over, again, exclusively to sociology in all its phases and branches is also a necessity for the Bengali world of culture. It is only under such conditions that sociology like the other branches of scientific discipline may be enabled to enjoy a *swarāj* or independent status among the Bengali *intelligentsia*.

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar.



INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, July-December, 1936, K. de B. Codrington contributes an article on *The Use of Counter-Irritants in the Deccan*. It is pointed out how the practice of cicatrization by means of an irritant, such as the juice of the pericarp of the marking-nut, besides its ceremonial uses, has its therapeutic utility, and the commonness or rarity of the practice in any definite area is closely linked with its therapeutic repute as demonstrated by local practitioners.

In the *Jourral of the Bihār and Orissā Research Society*, March 1937, Mr. S. C. Mitra contributes *Notes on the Cult of the Godling Nāga in South Bihar and a Rain-compelling Rite connected therewith*, and a *Note on the Vestiges of Totemism among the Binds of Bihār*. In the former, referring to the discovery of a series of pottery, each with many spouts, and bearing representations of serpent-heads in an ancient structure popularly known as Maniyar Math, at Rajgir in South Bihar, and correlating it with the further fact that Mani Nāga was the tutelary deity of the ancient town of Rājagriha (modern Rajgir) to whom the peasants prayed for rain in seasons of drought, the writer concludes that "Mani Nāga was a large water-snake which lived in some extensive sheet of water in South Bihar and that, on account of its intimate association with water, this ophidian came

to be popularly believed to be the custodian of rain-water." (But see p. 179 *ante*). The other *Note* refers to a supposed trace of bamboo-totem among the Bind caste of Bihar and Upper India. The grounds suggested are not convincing. In cases of the salt and rice totems of the Orāons, though rice and salt are indispensable articles of diet, totemic taboo is observed only by abstaining from taking rice-gruel, and in the case of salt by abstention from taking raw salt but not from food in which salt has been added in cooking. (See *Orāoñs of Chōṭā Nāgpur*, p. 331).

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Iyer continues his article on "*Draviḍi Sandhi*," and Mr. S. C. Mitra his "*Studies in Bird Myths*". The latter also contributes notes on "*The Sambhu Chandi Sect*" of Vaishnavas in the Patna District of Bengal about 1833 AD, and "*A Curious Mussalman Sect*" of the Dinājpur District in Bengal, who, the writer thinks, were originally Hindus and though now professing Islam retain certain Hindu customs and practices described in the paper.

In the same *Journal*, Dr. G. S. Ghurey in a paper on "*Census Contribution to the Racial Analysis of India*," points out various defects and inaccuracies in the racial analysis of the Indian people as made in the last *Census Report*. In this article, Dr. Ghurey examines and makes detailed criticisms of the anthropometric data and conclusions published by Dr. B. S. Guha in the last *Census Report of India*, vol. I., Part III.

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for March, 1937, in an article headed "*The Home of the Indo-Europeans*," Dr. A. B. Keith adduces additional evidence in favour of Dr. W. Bandenstein's theory (in his *Die erste indogermanische Wanderung*, 1936) that "the Indo-European period covered two distinct periods during which the ancestors of the latter separate branches lived together, though by the later period the ancestors of the Indo-Europeans had parted from their kinsfolk." "Indo-Iranian presents Indo-European in an early stage of development in the literature of the priests of Indo-European tribes, which are in the process of blending with the non-Indo-European population, which held Iran and India before their advent." "The Germans, when we first learn of them, present a remarkable contrast in civilisation to the Indo-Europeans." Ancient Germanic society ill accords with the rigid patrilinear system which the vocabulary of Indo-European so plainly attests. In old Germany, as Tacitus points out, nephews stood in a specially close relation to their maternal uncles; and 'Germanic has a vocabulary which in many spheres is largely non-Indo-European in character.' The view that Scandinavia and Germany were the home of the dolichocephalic, blond-haired, blue-eyed, bright-coloured, tall race, which is to be recognised as the true Indo-European type, is refuted. The Germanic origin of the Indo-Europeans is held to be as untenable as the Baltic origin. Dr. Keith concludes that efforts to assign the Indo-European to any of the many cultures now known to have existed in Asia or

Europe must be regarded as at present at least wholly premature, and "the same remark applies to the numerous conjectures made as to the date at which Indo-Europeans are to be presumed in Asia and in Europe." "Equally without weight are their conjectures on the mode of origination of the Indo-European speech and the differentiation of users of *p* and *k* sounds."

In the *Indian Culture* for April, 1937, Mr. G. P. Majumdar writes on the object of the *Domestic Rites and Rituals* prescribed in the *Grihya Sūtras*. These rites and rituals are denominated 'Samskāras,' These were considered sufficient as a means to the personal hygiene and well-being of a cultured householder. Poetry and philosophy on the one hand, and science and superstition on the other are beautifully intermingled in them." The setting up of the *Grihya* fire is the essential ceremony round which all the rituals in the *Grihya Sūtras* centre. These rites and rituals are connected with birth, studentship, marriage and death. The Samskrit technical names of the various rites are enumerated. In the same number of *Indian Culture*, Dr. R. Bonnerjee writes on the *Traces of Ugrian Occupation of India*; Dr. L. Fabri contributes a paper on *A Sumero-Babylonian Inscription Discovered at Mohenjo-Daro*; Rev H. Heras writes on *Mohenjo-Daro: the People and the Land*; Dr. A. B. Keith contributes a paper on *the Asvins and the Great Goddess*; Dr. B. C. Law on *Ancient Indian Tribes*; and Mr. S. K. De on *The Theology and Philosophy of Bengal Vaishnavism*.

In *Science and Culture* for June, 1937, Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy translates a note on *The Origins of Art* by Elie Lebasquais. From a comparative view of primitive prehistoric art and modern art, the author concludes that if there is one error more than another by which modern ideas, in every field, are falsified, it is certainly that of progress. "In art this has no meaning; one cannot say that there has been any progress as between a bison drawn in ochre by a Madalenian artist on the walls of the Altamira cave, and a hare by Pisanello, or even a lion by de Barye."

In the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* for April, 1937, Dr. Hermann Weller, in an article headed "Who were the Bhriguids?" assigns an 'Indid' or Dravidian origin to the Bhrigus (the Bhārgabas of the Rigveda), whose original occupation was that of chariot-builders, but who subsequently became Brāhmaṇ teachers of the Āryans, considered themselves descendants of the divine Bhrigu, and attained a commanding and influential position at the end of the Vedic period. To them the credit is principally due for the unification of the Āryan and the 'Indid' spirit in the colossal monument of the Mahābharata, in which, as in a great sea, "stories, morals (*dharma*), worldly wisdom (*nti*), in short all expressions of Indian life, have streamed in."

In the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University* (vol. I, no. 1, 1937), Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri contributes an interesting article on "Agastya

or the Rise and Spread of Hindu Culture." After noting various references in ancient Sanskrit and Tamil literature and in local traditions in Southern India and in Champa, Kamboja (Cambodia) and Java, the writer suggests the probability of Agastya having been an "embodiment of the Brahmin intelligence that brought about a liaison between the Pre-Āryan culture and the New Āryan culture that supervened over all these countries."

In the *New Review* for April, 1937, Rev. H. Heras contributes the first instalment of an article on *The Cradle of the Aryans*, which the author seeks to make out by inferences drawn from the common vocabulary of 'Āryan'-speaking peoples. This article is concluded in *The New Review* for May, 1937. It is, according to Father Heras, Southern Russia, especially that portion of it which extends along the middle and upper course of the Volga, where the early Āryans grew into a large family now spread over the whole Eurasian continent. In the June and July numbers of the same Journal Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji contributes an interesting article on *Bengali Origins* in which an illuminating but very brief account of the origin and development of the Bengali language and literature is given.

In the *Modern Review* for June, 1937, Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri contributes a paper on *Folk Literature in Gujarat* in which the substance of four folk-tales is given.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Anthropology, Ethnology and Sociology.

A Black Civilization. By W. Lloyd Warner. (Harper & Brothers 1937) Pp. xviii + 594. \$. 5.00.

This illuminating social study of the Murngin tribe of northern Australia is the outcome of three years' intensive field-work among a tropical Australian tribe. In this book for the first time we have a full and scientific or analytical as well as synthetic account of the different aspects of the culture of Murngin society, and the influence of environment and tribal contacts on it. Murngin society consists of a hunting and food-collecting population subsisting on the natural yield of the sea and the land. The natural environment which radically affects Murngin culture and behaviour consists of two changes in the cycle of nature, viz., an extremely wet season producing a period of scarcity and a dry period when there is plenty of food. The fundamental basis of society is an elaborate kinship system in which everyone is related to everyone else. This kinship system is organized into more general units which are patrilineal, exogamic clans with respective local territories "given to them by the totems". Each clan has multiple totems. Personal names have totemic significance, and the entire general totemic system is related to the clan which is of basic importance and is "the largest unit of solidarity", but the moiety is a still

larger unit, dividing the sixty-odd clans into two inter-marrying groups. The organized tribe under a chief does not exist. Another important structure in Murngin society is the age-grading institution. It divides, first, the men from the women on the basis of initiation and non-initiation into the tribal mysteries, and then "re-divides the men on an age-graded scale based primarily on the place a man achieves within the rest of his social organization through *rites de passage*". These rites occur at each turning-point of the individual's life (circumcision, initiation into totemic mysteries, marriage, and death). The author, although accepting the social interpretation of religion, does not class magic separately from religion. He holds that "magic is as much a 'Church' in Durkheim sense as religion." He points to a test situation in the northern Murngin area. "Although the peoples of the northern area believe in magic, they have no magicians such as are found in the south. Their substitution of ordinary religious rituals reveals much about the nature of magic". To us, however, it seems that magic (in the sense of beneficent or 'white' Magic) as well as Religion both belong to the same category of modes of contact or communion with the supernormal powers, but while Religion deals generally with Personal Powers, Magic deals primarily with impersonal powers and energies (though often with the help of Personal Powers), and whereas the ritual employed is submission, supplication and worship in the one case, in the other case it is, more often, pressure

and cajoling besides other methods of 'magical suggestion, whatever that may be. The sacred world of the Murngin is, Prof. Warner tells us, "totemically conceived". The totems (to a number of which each individual by reason of his clan-membership belongs) are grouped into hierarchies of sacred values. "Several fundamental myths organize the conceptual scheme of the social life and of the outside world which surrounds it. Elaborate community rituals allow the individual by means of symbolic dances, songs, and ritual speech to participate physically in the expression of the group's conceptions of the absolute."

The two great classifying structures of Murngin culture are the kinship system and the totem well, both of which generalize the various elements in the total culture. All clans have at least one, possibly more, sacred water-holes where dwell the high totems, the totemic ancestors, the ancestral deity, and the totemic spirits of the unborn. In this well the whole of the tribal life is focussed, all members of the clan are born from this water-hole, and all go back to it at death, and in it the totem's spirits live with the mythological ancestor, the souls of the dead, and the unborn children. In this well reposes the spiritual unity of clan life, it is the symbol of clan solidarity. As their food and drink depend on the water-holes, and possible death from the great floods, water is regarded as the most important symbol of the clan's spiritual life. Such wells are sacred on account of their spiritual contents, namely, the totem and totemic

ancestors as well as the souls of those who are to be born (who look in the well like very small fish). The author also traces cultural influences from outside, such as from Central Australia and the Malay Peninsula, that appear to have affected Murngin culture. Space forbids us from noting all the interesting points in the book. This book is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to social anthropology. The charts and figures and a map of the Tribes and Clans of the Murngin area, besides a number of illustrations, add to the usefulness of the book.

British Calendar Customs. Scotland. vol I;
By Mrs. M. Macleod Banks, with a Preface by
the Rev. Canon J. A. MacCulloch, D.D. (W. Eloisher
for the Folklore Society, London, 1937).

In this first volume of the Calendar Customs of Scotland we have a faithful collection of Scottish folk-customs under the following heads:— Movable Festivals, Harvest, March Riding and Wapynshaws (weapon-shows), Wells, and Fairs. Each festival is described, so far as possible, with reference to its name or names, time or occasion, venue, sayings, proverbs, and rhymes connected with it, omens, observances, beliefs, associated saints, etc. Besides observances kept on particular days or months, beliefs and practices recording witch-craft, fairies, natural phenomena,

folk-medecines, mumming, guizing, dramatic performances, dancing, processions, outdoor games, races, mock combats, holiday making festivals, fasts, religious observances, are briefly described. The President of the Folk-Lore Society of London has placed all students of man under his debt by collecting, collating, classifying and setting forth in a lucid and concise account a large amount of folk-customs in this volume. We eagerly look forward to a continuation of similar publications by the Society.

Principles and Laws of Sociology. By Harold A. Phelps (New York: John Wiley & Sons, London : Chapman & Hall, 1936) pp. xii + 544.

This book is divided into four parts, headed respectively :—The Scope of Sociology; The Logical Basis of Sociology; Sociological Laws and Principles; Current Generalizations and Developments. The book is more a summary of sociological literature than a systematic and critical account of the principles and laws of sociology. Indeed, the author himself describes the book in the Preface as “a report upon the sociological interpretation of laws and principles and an inventory of their content.” The book contains an amount of sociological information.

Dawn of the Khond Hills. By S. Pearce Carey, M.A. (London: The Carey Press, 1937) pp. 132. 2s. 6d.

This little book is not, properly speaking, a book on the ethnography of the Khonds, nor does it purport to be so. It gives an account of the success of Christian missionary endeavours to evangelize an Indian hill tribe. Incidentally some glimpses are given of the now obsolete *meriah* human sacrifice, and of some of the 'pagan' customs and habits of the Khond tribe. The good effects of the evangelization of a neglected primitive tribe are recounted. But a correct estimate of the effects of a new religion on the mind and character of a people is possible only if the other side of the picture is also presented.

The Hair in Health and Disease. A New Explanation of Diseases of the Hair, Scalp, and Skin and of 'Barbers' diseases' in Particular. By Edward Lawrence. (London, Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1936). pp. xvi+181 5s. *net*.

Though the title of the book suggests a medical treatise, the author, who is a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Society, claims to treat the subject from the anthropological (or rather biological) view-point. The hereditary factor in disease is stressed. The author's main thesis is that "disease must be looked upon as an evolution, not as an entity", and that for the origin of a malady we have to look for "one long chain of evolutionary causation". "The soil (by which

term the author means individual and inherited constitution and individual reaction to exciting causes) is far more important in disease-causation than the seed." Our author urges that up to the present no scientific or conclusive evidence is forthcoming to prove that the origin of disease is to be found in "the elusive malignant germ." "Whether microbes be present or not, 'microbic' diseases are in the blood of both parent and child, and manifest their presence, in various forms and under different medical names, during the course of a life-time."

Our author thinks that the "taboos" of the savage as well as of the civilized man originated in old instinctive inhibitions, and they are the basis of 'conscience.' He says, "If we can inherit the physical, mental, and moral characteristics of our ancestors, as Professor Karl Pearson has declared, we may also inherit their consciousness in an unconscious form. It may be that this inherited consciousness is the base upon which the inhibitions, which are shared by every race, in every clime, in diverse ways, are built, and which in their religious sense are known collectively as conscience." Our author points out that not only in Christendom but also in ancient Greece and in many other countries in the Near and the Far East, it is a dying belief that the ills from which men suffer owe their ultimate origin to the breaking of 'taboo.' If disease, from a scientific point of view, comes from the crushing of old instinctive inhibitions, we cannot say that "that the

discarded 'myth' is nothing but a myth." The author's conclusion therefore is that "Disease is not natural." "Pathological states have been made by man and can only be undone by him". "In disease, as in other forms of antagonism aroused in an unnatural environment, we have a condition brought about by the existence of a toxin or poison, which owes its origin, in the first place, and so far as man himself is concerned, to sexual depravity. It is the presence of this toxin which alters completely the whole life-history of both individual and race." Among other conclusions of the author the following are particularly interesting to the sociologist and also, to some extent, to missionaries, educationists, administrators and legislators :—

"That all natural growth, whether as regards physical or psychic life, is slow growth. Either by a revolutionary change of custom, religious or social, or by transference to a new environment, a diseased condition will arise which will mar the future generations as well as the present ones".

"That the study of man proves that whenever new conceptions are introduced which clash with the old, new conditions are bound to arise, which create disease, both physical and social. Every belief of man is, in itself, an evolution, which, when torn rudely asunder, makes men break away from their old inhibitions."

"That the more civilized man assumes new modes of life, and, at the same time, dispenses with those inhibitions which moulded the lives of his fathers, the more diseased, mentally, physically and socially will he be. Science, to most men, has provided nothing at all to take the place of ancient restrictions on certain forms of conduct, which are detrimental to man's well-being as an individual, and his continued existence as a healthy animal."

The book is written in plain non-technical language, and will prove interesting to all readers, and is calculated to stimulate further investigation on the same lines by medical men, social psychologists and other scientists.

The Third Morality :—By Gerald Heard.
(Cassell, 1937). pp. 318. 10s. 6d. *net*.

This thought-provoking book has not come a day too soon to warn the civilized West that modern society is heading to a crisis, and to suggest a remedy. Mankind, according to our author, have successively held two world views and tried two courses of 'morality' or metaphysic and behaviour; but both have failed. So the author suggests a Third Morality or world view, metaphysic and ethies, which is calculated to avert the impending catastrophe. The first 'morality' was "Anthropomorphism," and the second "Mechanomorphism." The author's contention is as follows : man makes attempts to release himself from the animal appetites, greed and fear. "Failing to understand what is wrong with him, his efforts end by sinking him deeper. His intuition that the world is somehow alive and the universe at base is mental, he cannot hold to, but falsely condenses this faint apprehension into the dogma of an individual Deity—a deity who ends by existing only to satisfy man's individual desires, personal pleasure, personal preservation. This Anthropomorphism therefore leads him to Mechanomorphism in which

man transposes for a God who may be persuaded to satisfy his personal needs a machine which can be made to do so." Western civilization is now mostly in this stage. And of it our author says, "We have only gained in power without adding anything in meaning." "Mechanomorphism, not being a cosmology, a complete picture and rendering of all experienced phenomena,—cannot give rise to an ethic. So modern man remains unbalanced...The anthromorphic cosmology has gone, never to return. So, too, the mechanomorphic attempt never succeeded in making a cosmology," for it is not "a scheme of things controlled by 'a magnified natural man,'...but is simply a blind system, an aimless machine, which means nothing and is going nowhere." "The third cosmology," says Mr. Heard, "is already forming under the threshold of consciousness." "The universe's nature is fundamentally a thought...The fundamental nature of the universe is an impersonal comprehensive mind...The third cosmology aims at a universal consciousness, a state of complete awareness and sympathy." "The process of the universe is the expansion of individualized consciousness into union—the complete evolution of consciousness through unity."

The influence of India's Vedanta philosophy on the author is obvious. The author also appears to be acquainted with Jaina and Buddhist philosophies. He emphasises the necessity for the full serenity of mind which, he rightly says, is impossible without serenity of the body, for which appropriate rules regarding diet, attitude, and breath-

ing are recommended. Though on certain minor points we may have differences of opinion with the author, as for example, with regard to his depreciation of the eremetism of Egypt and the asceticism of India, and his characterization of the *yogi* recluse as "deserting mankind in the greedy hope of spiritual advance by oneself," the book is sure to prove a very stimulating and helpful antidote to the crass materialistic philosophy that is rampant in the West and has invaded the East to not a little extent.

Archaeology.

From Stone to Steel. (London County Council. 3rd edition, 1936) pp. 98. 6d.

This is a handbook and guide to the cases in the Horniman Museum and Library, Forest Hill, S.E. 23, London, illustrating the Ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron. In the first thirty-two pages of the book, a concise but clear account is given of the emergence of different forms of stone implements and their manufacture and the succession of stone age cultures. In the remaining pages, an account is given of the stone age in Europe in relation to the distribution in time of the stone age cultures and their developments as illustrated in the different show-cases of the museum. The stone age in Asia is represented in cases 46 and 47.

Ganes'a,—A Monograph on the Elephant-faced God. By Alice Getty, with an Introduction by Alfred Foucher. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936), pp. I-XXVIII+103. £ 2. 2s.

The talented author, who earned her reputation as the erudite author of "*The Gods of Northern Buddhism*," has to be congratulated warmly on her extensive study of the god Ganes'a in India as well as in countries in the Far East where the influence of Indian civilisation had once extended and still persists. As our author begins by saying, "Ganes'a was and still is most universally adored of all the Hindu gods, and his image is found in practically every part of India; his popularity extended to Nepal and Chinese Turkestan and crossed the seas to Java, Bali, Borneo, while his worship was not unknown in Tibet, Burma, Siam, China, Indo-China and Japan."

The monograph is divided into eight chapters. The first four chapters deal respectively with the "Origin of Ganes'a," "Ganesa in Indian Literature" (Chapter I.), "Ganes'a iconography from Hindu texts and images" (Chapter II.), "Ganesa in Hindu sculptures and paintings" (Chapter III), and "Ganes'a in Buddhism; Nepal, Chinese Turkestan, Tibet." (Chap. IV). The remaining four chapters deal with "Ganes'a in Burma, Siam, Indo-China" (Chap. V), "Ganes'a in Java, Bali, Borneo" (Chapter VI), "Ganes'a in China" (Chapter VII) and "Ganes'a in Japan" (Chapter VIII).

While admiring the scholarship and research of the talented author, we regret we cannot agree

with her in a few of her interpretations; and a few suggestions are offered below with respect to certain inadvertent omissions.

The origin of Ganes'a as sought to be made out in this monograph is not convincing and will not appeal to the Indian mind. The present status and position of Gānes'a among the *Pañcha-devatās* has not been discussed at all. As Ganes'a occupies a place among the Hindu Mother-goddesses, so also has he a place among the *Sāshana-devīs* or *Yakshinīs* of the Jaina religion. Sculptural evidence of his place among *Sāshana-devīs* is found in the Navamuṇi cave of Khaṇḍagiri in Orissā. Ganes'a in Jainism would have certainly formed an interesting chapter.

In the Introduction, Prof. Foucher has referred to certain anthropological significance in the form of Ganes'a. When the origin of the god is still obscure, it is, we think, premature to attribute his deformities to his "modest lineage." Indians, as a rule, place less stress on external beauty than on inner good qualities, and Ganes'a's popularity appears to rest on his inner qualities as *Siddhidatā*, *Vighnes'vara* and *Vināyaka*; and thus in spite of all the ugliness of his external appearance,—*Kharvam*—*Sthulatanuam*—*Gajendravadanm*—*Lamvodaram*,—he is described as beautiful—*Sundaram*.

The image of the dancing Ganes'a is popular both among Hindus as well as among Buddhists and the author has referred to such images. Plate 7 (a) illustrates a South Indian type of the Hindu dancing Ganes'a which forms part of the

sculpture on a pillar in the Minākshi temple at Madura, but this illustration is not an independent sculpture. The author mentions at page 29 that the Bherā ghāt (Central India) image "is standing in a slightly dancing pose," but no illustration of it is given. An illustration of the Hindu dancing Ganes'a was published in the *History of Orissa*, vol. II, by the late R. D. Banerji, from a photograph of the image preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Khiching in the Mayurbhañj state; and in R. B. Ramā Prasād Chanda's *Medieval Sculptures in the British Museum*, Plate XXI, we have a fine image of the dancing Ganes'a, now preserved in the British Museum. Although the author has given full referances to all illustrations in the list of his plates, yet the localities where they occur or were found are not mentioned.

The discriminative selection of the illustrations is a special feature of the book. The publishers are also to be congratulated on the fine get-up of the volume.

P. Acharya.

Astrology.

Your Stars of Destiny. By Wm. J. Tucker. (London, Science and Astrology Ltd., 1936) pp. 144.

This is an elementary work on Astrology written in an easy, simple style. The author claims in the Preface that in this work for the first time definite and concise descriptions and facts are

tabulated scientifically, so that they can mean one thing, and one thing only; also, that the student is independent of the 'time-of-birth' factor, and is able to approximate an unknown time-of-birth factor, with the utmost of ease, and, finally, that "the discovery provides the first conclusive objective proof of the reality of *stellar* influence and control". Perhaps this estimate is rather too high. The reality of stellar influence and control has been long recognised in India, and demonstrations of the 'reality' are not rare. To us it appears that Chapter VI, though testifying to much industry, is much too long; and while allotting more space to physical characteristics which are not so essential, more essential topics have been dealt with rather perfunctorily. Yet so far as it goes, the book is well written.

History.

Battlefield of the Gods: Aspects of Mexican History, Art, and Exploration. By Pál Kelemen. *With an Introduction by Prof. A. M. Tozzer.* (George Allen & Unwin, 1937). pp. 212. 10s. 6d. *net*.

In this delightfully written book the author who calls himself an "Art-historian" gives in the form of nineteen essays on various topics his reactions to the variegated life of the valley of Mexico in the past and the present. He not only speaks of the highly artistic civilization of the pre-Columbian Mayas, Aztecs, and Toltecs, but also introduces us to the modern

Maya farmer, a good heavy labourer, content with little, not greedy for money, a red brown little fellow, recalling the Malay squatting behind his merchandise, wearing nothing but short cotton drawers and sleeveless jerseys, with a stolid expression, yet evincing attention and discernment in every feature. The greater portion of the book is naturally taken up with accounts of the artistic, architectural and sculptural remains of the pre-Columbian civilization of Mexico. And the accounts, though popular and free from technical details, convey a vivid realistic impression of the magnificent culture of pre-Columbian Mexico. As many as sixty-one excellent photographs enhance the value of the author's account.

Psychology.

The Psychology of a Suppressed People.
By Rev. J. C. Heinrich, M.A. (Allen and Unwin, 1937)
pp. viii+148. 3s. 6d. net.

The main object of the psychological analysis in this book of the inferiority complex of a suppressed people is to discover and, if possible, to help to remove the conditions that stand in the way of successful mission work among Indians, particularly of the "*depressed classes*."

Besides copious quotations from other writers, the author cites several instances from his own experience in mission work of the untoward reac-

tions of the suggestion, real or fancied, of White superiority, on the minds of Indian workers under European or American heads of Mission organizations. His personal experiences and psychological analysis of the situation leads our author to the conclusion that to ensure successful mission work the general practice under which in a Mission organization an Indian worker is assigned a position subordinate to some White man, has to be given up. The author adds, "It would seem that a continuous spiritual efficiency is impossible without the Mission's being moved out of the picture."

The author concludes with the following wise and shrewd advice to Christian Missions regarding what should be their future policy:—"The emotional power back of the abnormal craving for superiority latent in the depressed class group, when it becomes socialized, is a real reinforcement of power and achievement. The highest aim of Mission policy should be to keep out of the way anything that will hinder or thwart its social expression. Any form of organization that is not open to effective criticism by responsible National leaders is a handicap to spiritual fellowship too heavy to be borne. Criticism that finds no effective channel of expression tends to produce an apparent unresponsiveness that conceals resentment. This emotional reaction often results in disorder and disintegration of personality. The tendency toward the formation on the field of single organizations of control with Nationals dominant needs desperately to be speeded up."

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CASTE, RACE, AND RELIGION IN INDIA.

(*Continued from the last number*)

By the Editor.

2. Probable Contributions of the Dravidian Racial Element.

The 'Proto-Dravidians' or Indo-Mediterraneans appear to constitute, along with and even to a greater degree than the earlier 'Proto-Australoid' or Pre-Dravidians, the basic substratum of the bulk of the present Indian population. To them India appears to owe the first great impetus to civilization. They appear to have either introduced or evolved irrigated cultivation of food-grains, the practice of urn-burial, the erection of rude stone memorials to the dead, the manufacture and use of copper implements, pottery, the art of navigation, architecture and some other arts and crafts, of most of which perhaps they might have acquired the rudiments in their earlier home and later developed them on Indian soil.

I must not omit to note, however, that occasionally the correctness of the Mediterranean theory of the origin of the Dravidian-speaking peoples has been questioned. Recently on the basis of a proposed reading of the

Mohenjo-Daro script, Rev. H. Heras has propounded a novel theory of the Indian origin of the Mediterranean race. He writes :—¹⁴⁸

"The development of the script of Mohenjo-Daro in relation with the Sumerian script, the religion of these two countries and that of Egypt, the titles of kings, the number of zodiacal constellations among the proto-Indian people and the relative position of these constellations, the changing of the proto-Indian constellation of the Harp (*yal*) for *Taurus* (the bull) which must have taken place in Sumer, the traditions of the ancient people of Mesopotamia recorded by Berosus, the parallel Biblical account in Genesis, II, 1-5,— all point to the same conclusion that the migration of the Mediterranean race commenced from India and extended through Southern Mesopotamia and Northern Africa ; spread through Crete, Cyprus, Greece, Italy and Spain, and crossing the Pyrenees reached Central Europe and the British Isles. This route starting from Ceylon up to Ireland is marked by an interrupted chain of dolmens and other megaliths, that seem to be relics of this enterprising and highly civilized race which is termed the Mediterranean by the anthropologists and which in India has been quite unreasonably despised under the name 'Dravidian'." The Rev. Father Heras continues, "It has been an error to call the civilization discovered at Mahenjo-Daro, Harappa and other sites, 'the Indus Valley Civilization,' for this phrase seems to suggest that such civilization flourished in the Indus Valley only. Relics of the same civilization have also been found in the Gangetic valley (*J. B. O. R. S.*, III, p. 187-191) and in Kathiawar (specimens unearthed at Vala by Father Heras). Signs like those at the Indus Valley have also been discovered in pieces of pottery found in the Tinnevely District (Bruce Foote, *Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Govt. Museum, Madras*), ... on some rocks in the Nilgiris (Breeks, *Primitive Tribes and Monuments in the Nilagiris*, pl. XIV., A.) and on the pottery found in the prehistoric tombs of the Hyderabad State (*J.R.A.S.*, 1917, p. 57). The back-ground of the Taks, so common in the

¹⁴⁸ *The Journal of Indian History*, April, 1937.

Deccan, bearing images of Khandoba or another Saiva deity, is covered with similar signs too. The present writer has lately discovered some signs of that script in a prehistoric cave of the Kegalle District of Ceylon and also in the earliest struck coins of Ceylon which are quite intelligible inscriptions (*cf.* Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, pl. I. & II.),"

Before further investigations into the matter throw more light on the question of origins, it would be premature to discard the name 'Dravidian' and reject the theory of the Mediterranean affinities of the Tamils, Telugus, and Malayalis. However that may be, there appear to be reasons to believe that the Proto-Dravidians were composed of several sections or tribes who, if, as we think, they immigrated to India from outside, did so in successive waves of migration. While some mixed with the earlier or Pre-Dravidian aboriginal population of Northern India, some appear to have migrated ahead of the rest and, mingling their blood with the Proto-Australoids in the river valleys of Northern and Eastern India, passed down through Assam and Burma, and with an infiltration of Proto-Australoid and Mongolian blood, they became in Indonesia the Nesiote race since submerged. A section of these Nesiotes or Indonesians probably crossed over at a later period to Southern India where (particularly in Malabar) a slight Melanesian strain is suspected. Some slight Melanesian and Indonesian elements are believed to have also entered the Assam hills by the land route. The main body of these earlier Proto-Dravidians, as their number increased and as the Proto-Australoids still probably dominated the river valleys of Northern India, gradually moved across the chain of hills that separate

Northern India from Peninsular India, where their descendants have since remained the dominant people. Remnants of the early Indo-Mediterranean settlers who stayed on in Northern India were in time mostly absorbed in the Proto-Australoid population of the North, until fresh hordes of Mediterranean (Asura) immigrants arrived and, in time, dominated the river-valleys of Northern India.

As for the new Mediterranean immigrants into Southern India, their descendants gradually received varying degrees of Proto-Australoid blood and in time evolved what we know as the 'Dravidian' culture. They developed such arts and crafts as they had originally brought with them, and acquired others. They had either acquired a rudimentary knowledge of metallurgy before they came south or independently developed it in their new home. The old copper workings near Maktiala in the Kistna District of Hyderabad may perhaps be attributed to them. Near the old mines Bruce-Foote discovered a polished earthenware vessel of unique shape, and some seven earthenware bowls and bowl-dishes of iron age types.¹⁴⁹ Few prehistoric copper artefacts have, however, been discovered in Southern India, which thus appears to have passed directly from the neolithic culture of its original Negritic inhabitants to an Iron culture introduced by these Proto-Dravidians. To the Proto-Dravidians are to be attributed the dolmens, cairns, menhirs, and other megalithic structures in different parts of Southern India, the large terracotta funereal urns each with

¹⁴⁹ *Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities*, (1916) p. 129.

three or four legs, the coloured and glazed prehistoric pottery of various shapes and sizes, bronze figurines of animals and birds, iron weapons used in hunting and warfare, agricultural implements, metal ornaments and household utensils, beads of quartz crystal and various coloured stones which archaeologists have unearthed from various prehistoric sites in the South. Or perhaps some of these might have been subsequent acquisitions of this earlier branch of the Proto-Dravidians through cultural contact with the later Mediterranean-Dravidian immigrants of India who came to dominate northern India and may not unreasonably be identified with the 'Asuras' of local tradition and early Samskrit literature. Later, other branches of the same race might have joined the Dravidians in Southern India. The Nāga or Serpent cult, so wide-spread in Southern India, may have owed its development to the Nāgas, probably Dravidian in origin, but whom some would affiliate to the Alpine race. In course of time, the 'Indid' Dravidians acquired and developed various arts and industries and became great builders and, long before the beginning of the Christian era, developed a considerable civilization in South India and consolidated themselves into powerful kingdoms which in time extended their influence to the south and east even across the seas and at times to Northern India.

As the first division of the 'Indo-Mediterraneans' probably introduced or developed permanent villages into India, this second or 'Asura' division of the race,—perhaps a blend of the Armenoid with the Mediterranean,—would appear to have introduced the

construction of substantial brick-buildings—the 'forts' or 'garhs,' as they are called, of the 'Asura' Chiefs. These 'Asur-garhs' consisted of fairly large brick buildings or, at any rate, structures with foundations of bricks, which were obviously occupied by their chiefs; and the rest of the population of the settlement must have dwelt in houses made of perishable materials, the entire settlements constituting the earliest beginnings of towns in India.

In parts of Chota-Nagpur where the ruins of these earlier Asur 'garhs' or 'forts' are found, the different 'garhs' are situated at distances of three or four to seven or eight miles from one another. Tradition among the Mundas of Chota-Nagpur speaks of the male-folk of the Asuras as having been ultimately routed in Chota-Nagpur by Sing-bonga, the Supreme God of the Mundas, through a trick and the spirits of the female-folk of the Asuras as having become included among the spirits whom the Mundas to this day appease by making sacrifices and offerings to them. Certain prehistoric finds in Narmada valley, which were exhibited at the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference held at Baroda (Anthropological section) in December, 1933, by the late V. R. Karandikar also point to the existence in Chalcolithic times of what I would call the 'Asura' civilisation, as they bear some resemblance to the Chota-Nagpur finds. Although the Mediterranean Asuras might have been routed or absorbed in the hilly regions of Chota-Nagpur by the pre-Dravidian Mundas, the bulk of the Asuras would at any rate appear to have been dominant in the river-valleys of Northern India when the Aryans arrived there.

Thus in the valleys of the rivers of Northern India as also in the valleys of the Tapti and the Narmada in Western and Central India, the Indo-Mediterranean Asuras would appear to have been supreme until supplanted, subordinated or subjugated by the Aryans. It would seem that the Pre-Dravidians of Northern India had been partially absorbed by or amalgamated with these Asuras.

Some landmarks of the progress of prehistoric Asura colonisation eastwards are afforded by occasional finds of copper implements, weapons and ornaments, pottery and other artefacts and traces of buildings and large tanks locally ascribed by tradition (in Chōṭā Nāgpur, at any rate) to the prehistoric 'Asuras'.

Thus, at Bithur on the Ganges in the Cawnpur District, a remarkable barbed spear-head made of copper was found in 1821; at a village on the Jumna in the Agra District a copper spear-head and two copper-celts and six copper bangles were unearthed by a cultivator when tilling his field. 'Three' of the bangles were linked together, and Dr. T. Oldham has pointed out that they resemble in form the so-called "ring-money" of northern antiquaries. Near Fategarh in the Farukhabad District were similarly found thirteen copper swords and a curiously-shaped copper object which looks like a human figure presumably used as a religious symbol or image. By the side of the Ganges at Buxar in Bihar, some artefacts, mostly of terra-cotta, have been found and since deposited in the Patna Museum which, too, may be of 'Asura' origin. Near Pachamba, in the Hazaribagh District of Chota-Nagpur, a cultivator found a number of half-formed copper axes of which four are now in the Indian Museum. Near village Silda, in Pargana Jhatibani in the Midnapur District of Bengal, a copper battleaxe was found by some villagers while digging a pit. Not far from this site¹⁵⁰ is village *Tama-juri*, which name may indicate the past existence of copper workings there. At village Gungeria in the Balaghat District of the Central Provinces, two boys, while tending cattle, accidentally lighted upon a hoard of 424 pieces of copper implements and 102 pieces of silver plates or discs and ornaments. Twenty-two of these copper celts and twelve of the silver objects have been described by Mr. Coggin-Brown: These are now kept in the Indian Museum.

A large number of copper bracelets, copper axe-heads, copper

¹⁵⁰ J. Coggin-Brown, *Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum*, (1917), pp. 142-151.

bracelets, copper beads and ornaments of different varieties and of beautiful designs, copper and bronze dishes, cups, and copper and bronze vessels of different shapes and sizes have been unearthed by me from graves and building sites in the Ranchi and Singbhum Districts of Chota-Nagpur locally ascribed to the prehistoric Asuras. Besides these objects, the finds from the Asura sites of Chota-Nagpur include terracotta pottery of different shapes and sizes, some hand-made and some wheel-made, some having incised designs on them—either symbolic or ornamental, fragments of enamelled pottery, small terracotta models of birds and animal-heads, stone-bulls, a tiny copper figure of a man driving a plough to which two bullocks are yoked, bronze and copper bells, stone maces, stone corn-crushers, ring stones, stone anvils, neolithic and mesolithic axe-heads, chisels, hammer-stones, small low stone stools and miniature copper stools presumably used for ceremonial purposes, rock-crystal beads, faience beads, beads of coloured stones some of which are semi-precious such as carnelian and lapis lazuli, and small terracotta cones which have the appearance of phallic symbols. Among my finds was one small baked clay image of the mother-goddess about one foot high and a small bronze celt which is the only bronze celt up till now reported to have been found in India.¹⁵¹ In the ruins of one of the 'Asura' buildings in the Ranchi district I found a quantity of charred rice. The foundations of the reputed Asura buildings are made of large burnt bricks, 17 inches long and 10 inches wide and 3 inches thick. It is significant that these building-sites are called the "*Asura-garhs*" or "*Forts of the Asuras.*" At the burial-sites, over each grave is laid a large stone-slab (the largest one that I measured was $12' \times 7\frac{1}{2}' \times 6''$) lying flat and supported by four small stones at the four corners. By the side of the flat stone over some of the graves is planted vertically a tall and broad stone slab. These Asura sites are generally located by the side of hill-streams on extensive elevated grounds commanding a wide view of the country around. In the vicinity of some of these fairly numerous Asura sites may also be found large old tanks locally called to this day "*Asur Pokhras*" or the 'tanks of the Asuras.'

¹⁵¹ This and most other artefacts named above are now in the Patna Museum.

In Ruangarh, not far from Tatanagar, in the copper belt of the Dhalbhum sub-division of the Singhbhum district of Chota-Nagpur, Mr. E. A. Murray, an Engineer of the Rakha copper mines, explored a prehistoric site on the spur of a hill and found a number of polished stone implements, carnelian beads, copper and gold ornaments, and a quantity of iron slags.¹⁵²

From village Hami in the Palamau District of Chota-Nagpur twenty-two bar celts made of copper besides a miniature copper stool for ceremonial use were discovered by a cultivator while ploughing his field.¹⁵³ In the Manbhum District a number of copper axe-heads, some of them very large, were found by the late Dr. Campbell. Copper axe-heads and other implements have also been unearthed by cultivators in the adjoining District of Bankura in Bengal. Similar prehistoric finds are reported from Durgapur in the adjoining district of Burdwan.¹⁵⁴

Such prehistoric ruins of the "Asuras" appear to lie scattered all over Chōṭā-Nāgpur; but for lack of investigation they are lying practically unexplored. The fact that the Pre-Dravidian Muṇḍā tribes of these parts invariably attribute these ruins to the 'Asuras' of tradition, would indicate that they were not the handiwork of the Muṇḍā tribes themselves at any rate.

In Orissā which adjoins Chōṭā-Nāgpur to the south-east similar finds of neolithic or mesolithic and copper artefacts are reported from Khiching and other places in the Mayurbhūṇj State.¹⁵⁵

In the furthest east or north-east, in Assam,

¹⁵² *Census Report of India, 1931, Vol. I, Part III. p. lxvii.*

¹⁵³ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa. Research Society, Vol. I (1915), pp. 229-353 Vol. VI (1920), pp. 393-423.* Most of these objects may be seen in the Patna Museum.

¹⁵⁴ Press-note issued by the *Archaeological Survey of India, 1937.*

¹⁵⁵ R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa, vol. I, pp. 31-42.*

there are some ancient ruins which local tradition attributes to the Asuras, but these do not appear to have been explored. I saw the remains of one such ancient building-site not far from the town of Gauhāṭī. It contained large bricks of about the same size and shape as those in the Asura sites of Chōṭā-Nāgpur. From Sir Edward Gait's *History of Assam*,¹⁵⁶ we learn that there are traditions in Assam of the former rule of the 'Asuras' and among the former 'Asura' kings of Assam, Mahirang Danab and his successors Hatak Asura, Sambar Asura, Ratna Asura, Naraka Asura are named. There is also a hill near Gauhati still named after 'Naraka Asura.' All these various finds as well as local traditions in certain places go to indicate that this early branch of the 'Indo-Mediterranians' once spread over the whole of Northern India, from the banks of the Indus on the west to the banks of the Brahmaputra on the east, and from the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna on the north to the banks of the Narmada and the Tapti on the south-west and the Subarnarekha and the Sanjay and the Binjay on the south-east.

Most of these prehistoric 'Asura' antiquities are chance finds, and it may be fairly expected that systematic exploration will bring to light a very much larger quantum of evidence regarding the culture attained by this northern division of the 'Mediterranean' colonisers of India. The introduction of Terrace cultivation and of the use and manufacture of metal appears to have been among the most important contributions of this

¹⁵⁶ 2nd Edition (1926), pp. 12-13.

people to the material culture of the aboriginal inhabitants of India. The 'Austrie' speech of the Mūṇḍa tribes would appear to have been modified by contact with the language of this Indo-Mediterranean race ; and some of the important culture-elements that now distinguish the Mūṇḍa or 'Kolarian' culture from that of the now Draviḍian-speaking pre-Draviḍian neighbours of the Mūṇḍa, such as the Oraōṇs, the Sauria Pāhārias, the Khonds and the Gonds, would appear to have been developed through culture contact with the 'Asura' race of pre-historic northern India and very probably also through a certain amount of racial intermixture with them.

Although the cultural remains of the Indo-Mediterranean 'Asuras' in other parts of northern India have not been properly explored, a section of them who had settled down in the valley of the Indus have been more fortunate both in respect of the recent exploration of their ancient sites, and, what is more, in the tremendous advance they had made over the contemporaneous culture of other branches of the 'Mediterranean' race in India and elsewhere and probably over all other contemporaneous races and peoples in the world. They were also fortunate in having unique opportunities for intimate contact with other races and cultures. This would appear to have considerably helped this branch in taking unusually rapid strides in their progress in civilization.

Most favourably situated in the Indus Valley

which, Sir John Marshall says, was "the meeting-ground of Proto-Australoids from the Indian sub-continent, of Mediterraneans from along the southern shores of Asia, and of Alpines and Mongolo-Alpines whose habitat was in the mountain zones respectively of western and eastern Asia," their civilization far outstripped in achievement and complexity that of the earlier 'Asura' branch who had extended across Northern India from the Punjab to as far east as Assam, and south-east as Chōṭā-Nāgpur, and who had come in contact only with the ruder Pre-Dravidian cultures and peoples of the country.

As for the higher civilization of the Indus Valley branch, Sir John Marshall points out:—"It is more than likely that this civilization was the offspring not of any one race in particular but of several, born, perhaps rather of the soil itself and of the rivers, than of varied breeds of men which they sustained. For as far back as its history can be traced, the population of Sind and the Punjab has been a blend of many diverse elements, and there is no reason for assuming that it was other than heterogeneous in the earlier age with which we are concerned."¹⁵⁷

In the twenty-four skeletons or portions of skeletons recovered at Mohenjodaro, four distinct ethnic types have been distinguished, namely, Mediterranean, Proto-Australoid, Alpine, and the Mongoloid branch of the Alpine stock. It has been supposed that the basic Mediterranean racial element of the Indus Valley population received a heavy admixture of Armenoid blood.

Dr. Hutton writes, "Northern India was occupied by Mediterraneans before the Armenoid stock began to mingle with them, and it is possible that they were connected with the Indonesian race, now submerged, which seems to have left patches of speakers of 'Austroasiatic' languages along both

¹⁵⁷ *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley Civilization*, (Probsthain, 1931), Vol. I, pp. 108-9.

sides of the Ganges valley in the course of its migrations." Dr. Hutton thinks that "a combination of Armenoid and Mediterranean is found in India, particularly among the Tamils."¹⁵⁸

In stone flakes, cores, skulls, earthenware and other objects picked up on the surface of various mounds in Kathiawar, Sir John Marshall finds evidence to suggest that the Indus Valley civilization extended in a south-easterly direction at least as far as the Gulf of Cambay. But as for the Valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges and of the Narbada and the Tapti however, he writes,¹⁵⁹ "Our knowledge of the prehistoric culture in these valleys is very scanty. At present it is drawn almost exclusively from artefacts of the Stone and Copper Ages found on the surface of the ground, and from these objects we glean little more than that this part of India must have passed through the same Stone and Metal Ages as the rest of the South-West Asia and that, so far as the weapons and implements of the people are concerned, it was generally on a par with those of the Indus region. Whether its people possessed the cities and houses and all the other amenities of life such as we find in Sind and the Punjab, has yet to be established. Meanwhile, it may be remarked there is nothing in Vedic or later literature or in the diffusion of the pre-Aryan races or languages, so far as they are known to us, to suggest that the pre-Aryan peoples of the Punjab and Sind were markedly different in culture from those of the Jumna and Gangetic basins further east, and it may also be added that a people accustomed to carry on trade and commerce as far afield as the Indus people were *prima facie* likely to have made their influence felt far beyond the limits of the Indus Valley." The Indus Valley civilization was, according to Marshall, connected from the beginning with Mesopotamia and lasted approximately five centuries, from 3250 to 2750 B. C.

After having seen both the Indus Valley sites and the antiquities of the Chalcolithic Age unearthed at Mahenjodaro and Harappa, and some of the Asura sites of Chōṭa-Nāgpur and their

¹⁵⁸ *Census Report of India*, vol. I, pp. I, p. 454.

¹⁵⁹ *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Valley civilization*, pp. 95-96.

contents, I am inclined to think that they have both a family likeness—though the difference between them is as great as between an illiterate urchin brought up in rude surroundings and a highly cultured big brother accomplished in various arts and sciences acquired in more than one celebrated foreign University where intimate contact with diverse peoples of diverse cultures has further improved their culture to an extraordinary degree.

However that may be, although the Indus Valley civilization had its cultured classes and merchants and artisans, its nobles and commoners, and although Sir John Marshall opines that "the religion of the Indus people was the lineal progenitor of Hinduism," it has not been suggested by any authority that the special features that distinguish the Hindu Caste-system from the class-systems of other countries were evolved at Mahenjodaro or Harappa. Indeed no inference of the existence of such a system can be made from the materials that have been hitherto unearthed. The Indus Valley people must have had a class of rulers and administrators, a class of merchants and a class of artisans, but there is nothing to show that they had an organised class of *hereditary* priests at the head of the other classes. It is only when a people develops an elaborate and intricate religious ritual that a hereditary class of experts in ritualism evolves. But there is nothing to show that the Asuras either of Northern India or the Indus Valley, although they appear to have evolved or adopted a system of *yoga*, had deve-

loped a very complex ritualism, or that their class-divisions had crystallised into absolutely endogamous and hereditary 'castes'.

In support of my suggestion that the 'Asuras' of Chota-Nagpur tradition belonged to the same 'proto-Mediterranean' race that formed the main element of the population responsible for the chalcolithic culture of the Indus valley, I may mention that an earlier stage of most of the features of the Indus Valley culture which Sir John Marshall mentions as resembling the Second Pre-Diluvian culture of Elam and Mesopotamia and the proto-historic culture of Sumer, would appear to be represented, though on quite a humble and miniature scale, in the "Asura" culture of chalcolithic times in Chota-Nagpur. Thus, in the 'Asura' culture in Chota-Nagpur, we find traces of an earlier stage of (1) an organization of society in towns; (2) a knowledge of metalurgy and the continued but sparing employment of stones side by side with the prevailing use of copper and bronze for the manufacture of weapons, tools, and vessels, (3) the use of the potter's wheel and the production, with its help, of improved kinds of pottery of different shapes and sizes, such as tiny beak-spouted or plain jugs and large vessels ornamented with zigzag bands or other designs, either symbolic or ornamental, round the neck; (4) the use of wheeled vehicles (as indicated by something like part of a copper toy-cart recovered at Hami in the Palamau District and now placed in the Patna Museum); (5) the construction of buildings with kiln-burnt and also sun-dried bricks; (6) the use of stone-maces, ring-stones and humped stone-bulls; (7) the fashioning of ornaments out of faience and shell and stones and copper; and (8) the manufacture of rude phallic emblems of terracotta and stone.

Of the features mentioned by Sir John Marshall, it is principally the picture-signs for writing and artefacts of gold and silver and human figures in yogic posture that have not yet been found in the few Chota-Nagpur 'Asura' sites that have been so far partially explored, nor did art reach the high level which it had attained in the valley of the Indus.

It is interesting to note in this connection that

one of the prehistoric sites covering an area of two miles in circuit, in south-eastern Punjab, recently discovered by Dr. C. L. Fabri¹⁶⁰ now attached to the Central Museum, Lahore, in which beads, prehistoric pottery and other terra cotta artefacts of the same type as those unearthed at Mahenjo-daro, have been found, bears the significant name "*Asrur*." I have already noted (p. 217 *ante*) that similar prehistoric sites in Chōṭā-Nāgpur are named "*Asura*-" sites and the building sites "*Asura-garhs*" or forts of the prehistoric Asura people. And it would not be quite unjustifiable to assume that the prehistoric Asuras of Chōṭā-Nāgpur might represent an earlier migration of the Indo-*'Mediterranean'* race south-eastwards.

As for class-divisions among the pre-historic '*Asuras*' of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, it is reasonable to infer that they had, at any rate, evolved a division of the people into at least two classes,—the class of chiefs and nobles and the common folk; and that the common folk included agriculturists as well as artisans. There were also the indigeneous Pre-Dravidian aboriginal tribes of India who appear to have received the first impetus to civilization from this Asura branch of the '*Indo-Mediterranean*' race. Caste was not among the contributions that the Asuras made to India. As we have seen, the Mūṇḍā or '*Kolarian*' tribes, too, whom the Asuras supplanted, and who must therefore have imbibed some customs and ideas from them, are to this day strangers to the Caste system.

¹⁶⁰ Press Note issued by the *Archaeological Survey of India*, 1937.

Turning next to the original Proto-Dravidians of Southern India in pre-Āryan times we find the same lack of any evidence or reasonable ground to infer that 'caste' as distinguished from a class-system, had developed amongst them. Before the arrival of the Proto-Dravidians in Southern India, the country appears to have been inhabited by a multitude of tribes grouped into two broad divisions known as *Minavar* or 'fishermen' and *Villavar* (bow-men) or 'hunters.'¹⁶¹ The similarity or rather identity of the name *Villavar*, of which *-ar* is the plural suffix, to *Bhīl* ('Villa' in ancient Samskrit books), a well-known tribe of Proto-Australoid affinities in Gujarāt, Baroda, Rājputāna, and some other parts of northern and Central India, numbering over twenty lakhs, and of the name 'Minavar' to the *Mina* or *Meo*, numbering over eight lakhs,—another tribe of Proto-Australoid affinities in Gujarāt and Rājputānā, Ajmere-Merwārā, Gwalior, and the Punjāb,—might indicate that before the advent of the Proto-Dravidian colonisers in Peninsular India, Proto-Australoid tribes allied to the *Bhīls* and the *Minās* of Northern, Western and Central India, occupied Southern India as well.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ The principal existing 'fishing' communities of Southern India are the *Valan* (32,856) and the *Arayan* (33,574) of Cochin and Travancore, besides the *Bagata* (34,379) of the Madras Presidency; and the principal existing tribes of hunters and fowlers are the *Vettuvan* (41,444) of Cochin, Travancore and Madras, and the *Ullatan* (5,899) of Travancore and Cochin.

¹⁶² Since writing the above, I find that V. Kannakasabhai, too, in his *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred years Ago*, (1904), writes (at p. 99): "The oldest of the tribes who dwelt in Tamilakam were the *Villavar* and *Minavar*. The two tribes were evidently a primitive race which was spread over the whole of India, as they are still found in large numbers in Rāputana and Gujerat, where they are known as *Bhils* and *Meenas*, and in the Canarese country, where they are called *Billavar*." See also also pp. 11, 42-45; and, *J.R.A.S.*, III, 199,

It would appear highly probable that the expansive energy of the more civilized and powerful Proto-Dravidian-Mediterranean immigrants compelled the more backward indigenous pre-Dravidian tribes to retreat into the hills and jungles of Peninsular India, pushed some of the more recalcitrant tribes, such as the ancestors of the Dravidian-speaking Orāoṇs, Khonds, Gonds and Mālers or Sauriā Pahārīās north towards their present habitats in and beyond the Vindhya and Kaimur ranges, and, partially or wholly absorbed most other tribes who were more accommodating and yielding than the rest.

The ancient Proto-Dravidians appear to have been composed of successive tribal hordes. I have referred to the 'Asura' branch of this supposed 'Indo-Mediterranean' race in pre-Aryan India. One or more offshoots of the Asura branch of the race might have also come to the South. For, we find that the *Onam* festival, which is the principal national festival of Malabar to this day, is still celebrated in commemoration of the great *Asura* king, Bali who, according to the Hindu Pauranic allegorical myth, was deprived of the earth by Vishnu in his incarnation as the Vamana-Avātara and trodden down into the nether regions but permitted to revisit the earth once a year in August-September on the occasion of *Onam* festival. Another principal branch of the Proto-Dravidians was the Naga. The ancient Tamil work *Manimekhalai* mentions a branch of the Nagas called *Nakkasaranar* or "naked nomads" who lived in the islands to the east of Ceylon. "Beyond those islands was Chavakam, a large kingdom the capital of which was Nagapurem. The king of this country claimed to be a descendant of Indra, and the language spoken appears to have been Tamil."¹⁴³ The name 'Nakka-

¹⁴³ Vol. VII, (1928) Part I, pp. 80-81, "*Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*." See also continuation of the same article in parts II & III of Vol. VII of the same journal, for an account of the material and social culture of the pre-Aryan Tamil (Dravidian).

saranar' might perhaps be the Dravidian equivalent of 'Rakkasa' or 'Bākshasa,' and point to the *Rākshasas* of ancient Samskrit literature.

Of the pre-Āryan social system of the 'Draviḍa' country, Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar, as a result of his literary researches, writes as follows :—

"The earliest stratum of Tamil language contains words which name five natural divisions of inhabited land and the occupations that grew in each division. These five geographical divisions are named respectively, the *Neydal* or the coastal region, the *Marudam* or plough-land or agricultural area, the *Nullai* or forest-land or pastoral area, the *Kurinjī* or the hilly country, and the *Palai* or the desert country." He further finds that the people of the littoral region were called the *Paradar* or men of coastal culture, who consisted of communities of fishermen, sailors, divers, canoe-builders and boat-carpenters who extended from Gujerat along the sea-shore southwards to Cape Comorin and thence northwards along the East Coast of India as far as to the mouth of the Ganges. The people of the agricultural area, he says, were called the *Vellalas* (literally, the lords of the flood) "who became experts in irrigating their rice-fields through irrigation channels from the flooded rivers of the South, and among whom evolved the *Velir* or landed aristocracy." "In the interior districts, away from the river-valleys, lived the *Karalars* (literally, the rulers of the clouds) who were skilled in excavating tanks and wells and irrigating their fields of millets and pulses by drawing water with lifts (*erram*) and draught oxen (*kapilai*). In the *mullai* area between the riverine and the hilly areas lived the herdsmen called *Ayar*, who in their leisure hours cultivated the arts of music and dancing. The *Kuravar* or people of the hilly country, and the *Maravar* or people of the desert region, were nomadic hunters, mostly of Pre-Dravidian or perhaps mixed Pre-Dravidian and Negrito blood."

Later, the same learned writer in a series of articles on "Pre-Āryan Tamil Culture" in the *Journal of Indian history*, already referred to, gives an account based on archæological, linguistic and

literary evidence. In these articles he elaborates his account of the life and culture of South Indian Society from neolithic times down to the advent of the Aryans among them. As a result of his investigations he finds that besides the regional and occupational divisions of the South Indian people into the *Maravar*, *Kuruvar*, *Ayar*, *Ulavar*, and *Paradavar*, there also grew up "a vertical classification of the people of each region into *Manner*, king, *Vallal*, petty chiefs, noblemen; *Vellalar*, owners of fields; *Vanigar*, merchants,—all of whom were called *Uyarnidor* or *Melior*, the higher classes; and *Vinaiular*, and *Adiyor*, the working classes and personal servants. "This second classification is solely based on the standing of people in society, and is one that has evolved everywhere in the world. On these two classifications, the Brahmanas who carried the Arya cult into Southern India in the first millenium before the Christion era, imposed a third one, the socio-religions division of the people into four Varnas....This four-fold classification is neither regional nor racial, neither social nor professional but one correlated entirely to the fire-rite. When the Brahmanas settled in Southern India and the ancient Tamil Rajas desiring to secure the benefit of the *yagas*, accorded to the fire-priests a supreme position in society, the Brahmanas naturally tried to introduce their socio-religious organization into Tamil society. But a religious oligarchy and a social democracy could not very well mix with each other. Hence the Brahmanas did not succeed in arranging the people of Southern India as members of the four vernas as they did in north India. The Rajas who actually ruled in the provinces of Peninsular India were given the privileges of Kshattriyas with regard to the fire-rites—that of paying for them and deriving the invisible (*adrishta* or *apurva*) effects of *Yajna* and were even admitted to the Bharadvaja Gotra, but the scheme of four *varnas* necessary to a people, every detail of whose daily life, from urination to cremation, was influenced by the fire-rite, could not well spread among the Tamils, whose life for many milleniums previously was mainly secular and based on social democracy and among whom the Arya fire-rite, as it had lost its vitality before the Brahmanas migrated to Southern

India, did not spread. It only led to the confusion of caste and prevalence of social jealousies that have characterized the life of South India for a thousand five-hundred years; for, we learn from *Tevaram* of Tirunavukkarasu Nayanar, that there was in his day, as there is to-day, a consciousness of rivalry, if not jealousy, between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins or, as they were then called, *Āriyan* and *Tamilian*."

In a previous chapter (pp. 38-48 *ante*) I have discussed Slater's theory of the Dravidian origin of the priestly caste and endeavoured to show that his suggestion that the Hindu caste of Brāhmaṇs originated from the priest-magician class of the pre-Āryan Dravidians is not borne out by any reliable evidence. Ritual dance was an inseparable feature of ancient Dravidian worship (as it is still practised in connection with their indigenous 'village-deities'); and at some of their village-shrines, at any rate, the officiants were priestesses, as we learn from the Tamil work *Silappadigāram* (canto xli). It is true that the pre-Āryan 'Asuras' had developed the art of magic to such an extent that the Āryan immigrants into Northern India denominated Magic as "Asūra Vidyā" or the 'the science of the Asuras', as we read in the S'ankhāyana and Ās'valayana Srauta Sūtras. Yet there is no reliable evidence to show that in pre-Āryan times the Dravidian-speaking tribes of India had an organized class of hereditary priests at the head of the other classes and that their class divisions had any relation to a belief in re-birth predetermined by an inexorable law of *Karma*.

Much less can the origin of the Hindu priestly caste be traced to the supposed "carriers of the heliolithic culture" or the Dravidian weavers who

are supposed to have introduced spinning and weaving into India from Egypt and whom Slater regards as the original Brāhmaṇs who were invested with the sacred thread. The art of spinning and weaving would appear to have been acquired by the "Āryans" before they had entered India; for the Pārsis, too, wear the sacred cord, called *kusti*, made of wool by the wives and daughters of Pārsi priests, and in the Rig-Veda we read of the process of weaving (X, 130, 1), and the wearing of woollen clothes (X, 26, 6), and of female weavers (II, 3, 6, 38, 4).

Nor is it a sound inference to attribute, as Slater¹⁶⁴ does, the origin of the Brāhmaṇ caste in India to the fact that "the carriers of the helio-lithic culture" combined the worship of the Sun and the serpent. For the worship or propitiation of the serpent is an ancient cult which is found not only among some ancient and modern civilized peoples, such as the Phœnicians and the Babylonians of old, the ancient Peruvians and the modern Chinese, but also among many primitive tribes in different parts of the world as, for instance, among the Negro tribes along the Nigerian and Dahomian Coast of Africa and the Negroes of Issapoo in the island of Fernando Po. And further it does not appear to be a genuine Brāhmaṇ cult at all. The worship of *Manasā* or the goddess of snakes in Bengal may not improbably have been an Alpine inheritance of the Bengalis. We

¹⁶⁴ *The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture*, pp. 57, 58, 160.

find figures of snakes carved on tomb stones in Albania.¹⁶⁵

As for Sun-worship, it is not the ancient Egyptians nor the Babylonians alone who were the earliest Sun-worshippers and regarded their respective kings as the representatives of the Sun. The Mikado or the spiritual Emperor of Japan is or used to be regarded as an incarnation of the Sun-goddess and, as such, the deity who rules the universe, gods and men included. The Incas of Peru were called the Children of the Sun, and, as such, were revered as gods. The ancient Spartans, Persians, and Mesageti sacrificed horses to the Sun, the ancient Mexicans regarded the Sun as the source of all power and offered human sacrifices to propitiate the Sun-god, the Aztecs offered periodical sacrifices to renew the power of the Sun-deity. The worship of Surya or Savitr, the Supreme Being or Sun-God of the Aryan immigrants of India, like that of the Mithra of their Persian cousins, appears to have been older than the Indo-Aryan immigration into India, and Sun-worship was widely spread among the Alpine peoples of the Balkans.¹⁶⁶ In the lower culture, outside India, we find that among other tribes, the Ibibio Negroes of Nigeria have a very ancient tradition of Sun-worship; the islanders of Rhodes worshipped the Sun as their chief deity; and the Sun-worship and Sun-dances of several American Indian tribes, such as the Arapaho, the Cheyenne and the Crow Indians,

¹⁶⁵ Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, pp. 123, 127, 228.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 109 ff, p. 305.

are well-known. In India, several Pre-Dravidian tribes possess the Sun-cult which is not associated with a snake-cult. Thus the existence of Sun-worship among the Hindus cannot justify the inference that it was introduced into India by the Dravidians or that it was the Dravidians who supplied "Brāhmaṇ" priests to minister to the Sun-god. The Savitr-hymns in the Rig-Veda (e. g., I. 50, 115, vii. 60; vii; 62; vii, 63; X. 37, X. 158,) were mostly the compositions of Āryan Rishis.

Slater's argument that as "the carriers of the 'heliolithic culture' claimed divinity and it is also the traditional theory that every Brāhmaṇ is a god, and therefore the Brāhmaṇs must have been the descendants of the former,"—appears to be based on a misconception. For, as regards the ascription of divinity to a 'Brāhmaṇ,' the correct interpretation of the texts appears to be that the true Brāhmaṇ is he who has succeeded in realising the divinity (Brahmaṇ) within himself and may thus be said to be one with his God. True, there is evidence to indicate that some sections of Brāhmaṇs have been formed out of non-Brāhmaṇs or even non-Āryāns; but that, too, as I have already said, would not go to show that the Brāhmaṇs *as a caste* or even the South Indian Brāhmaṇs *as a whole*, are Dravidian in origin, or that the Caste system, as such, is entirely a contribution of the Mediterranean or Dravidian element in the Indian population. Nor do the several instances of *Asura* sages of Northern India

in Vedic and Paurāṇic times securing recognition as Brāhmaṇs go to support Slater's contention of the Dravidian origin of the Brāhmaṇic order in India. And, as I have already pointed out (pp. 43-44 *ante*), although the pre-Āryan Mediterranean-Dravidian inhabitants of Southern India appear to have evolved a class of magician-priests there are no adequate grounds for supposing that they formed a hereditary order in society and a 'close' order of high social rank to which a person could only be born by the dynamic operation of the law of *Karma* or the inevitable effect of his actions in a previous birth.

With the establishment of settled villages, division of labour amongst the population must have come into existence. When, in course of time, Proto-Dravidian civilization made a fair progress, occupational groups must have multiplied and the natural tendency of such groups to endogamy and hereditary function must have been active. Specialization of occupation would in time result in specialization of abilities in each occupational group. As in other ancient societies on a similar level of culture, the evolution, first, of sacred chieftainship, and of kingship gradually hedged round, in its earlier phases, with divinity, would be followed by a privileged nobility consisting of chiefs and their relatives and warriors. And this nobility, like royalty, would naturally prefer, and perhaps seek, to restrict marriage within their own class, and by their very position would occupy a higher rank than the commonalty or the occupational groups. The latter, too, in their turn,

might gradually come to recognise gradations of social position and distinctions in rank amongst themselves. With the intermixture of races, a tendency to occupational distribution on racial lines might also have made an impression on the Dravidian social system.

Another authoritative account of the ancient Tamil (Dramil = Draviḍa) people tells us that they were divided into seven "castes" (classes) as follows :— (1) *Ariyar* or sages ; (2) *Uluvar* or farmers including *Vellars* or lords of the flood ; (3) *Aiyar* and *Vedduvar*, shepherds and huntsmen ; (4) artisans ; (5) *Padaiyachier*, soldiers ; (6) *Valaiyar*, fishermen, and (7) *Pulayar*, scavengers.¹⁶⁷ In a few cases even in the lower culture we find the existence of social divisions having an outward semblance to castes. Thus among the natives of the Gilbert Islands we find four matriarchal social divisions including the *aromata* or gentry, and the *rau* or commoners, between whom intermarriage was not allowed.

As regards the abnormal and shocking development, in the Dravidian south, of what is now known as 'untouchability,' this would appear to have been the outcome of a combination of peculiar historical and social conditions in that part of India. When the Proto-Dravidians or Proto-"Indids" entered India they appear to have found it in occupation of numerous Proto-Australoid tribes in varying degrees of racial purity and social culture. The more advanced among these tribes

¹⁶⁷ Prothero and Vidyabhusana, *Pre-Muṣalman Period of Indian History*, (Macmillan), p. 123.

had introduced agriculture, organized villages under secular and sacerdotal headmen, and even formed confederations of villages, developed a few rude arts and crafts, made and used block-wheel carts and dug-out canoes, and fought with bows and arrows for shooting and slings for throwing stones at enemies and game, believed in the existence of the soul after death and in metempsychosis, and introduced totemistic beliefs and practices. A few Pre-Dravidian tribes, as we have seen, even evolved the beginning of rank in social classes and in clans; yet the essential elements of the caste system would appear to have been lacking, unless in their system of taboos and their belief in a mysterious energy of the nature of 'mana' we see the germ of one of the essential elements in later Hindu "Caste."

Though the more cultured and otherwise more powerful Proto-Dravidian people, probably immigrants, succeeded in constituting themselves into the dominant and ruling classes in Southern India, they naturally suffered some physical and cultural modification through racial intermixture and cultural contact with the Proto-Australoid inhabitants of the country who had already more or less absorbed the original black negritic indigenes of the land. Indeed, the inevitable result of migration and contact of peoples has perhaps everywhere been the intermixture of races and cultures and fusion of ethnic types; and, with the exception perhaps of a few geographically isolated primitive tribes, there are now no peoples of relatively pure blood in the world.

In the beginning the imperative sex urge would overcome the repulsion due to differences in physical and cultural characteristics. In time familiarity through association would gradually weaken sentimental control and induce toleration of traits which might have at first offended the æsthetic sensibilities of the fairer immigrant Mediterranean race. Although the native Proto-Australoids of India would appear to have been on a much lower cultural level than the immigrant 'Mediterraneans,' yet both were in origin branches of the same Caucasian race, and the two were therefore not very sharply contrasting ethnic groups. The immigrant Indo-Mediterranean people and the higher sections of the original Proto-Australoid inhabitants of the country would appear to have arrived in time at some sort of working social relations and there came about a certain amount of blending of blood and cultures. More or less inter-breeding of the two divergent types would lead to some modification of physique and temperament and the appearance of a modified racial type with variations within the limits of a dominant pattern, which through in-breeding subsequent to a period of inter-breeding would result in a relatively stable "Dravidian" or, as it has been called, not very accurately, "Indid" type; and with the establishment of race-dominance further intermixture would in time cease. For, in all interbreeding and in mixture of races there is a natural limit beyond which even sex urge may not lead. Colour-prejudice of the more cultured race and the ideal of preserving their blood from further contamination would naturally lead ultimately to the avoidance of further intimate contact of the dominant

'Dravidian' people with the despised Proto-Australoid race and with the hybrid communities that had sprung from the union of the latter with those of the negritic remnants, since practically vanished.

In fact, this was not a peculiarity of the then racial situation in South India alone. This has happened in other countries, too, under similar conditions. In most parts of the world where a more civilized race has conquered or come to dominate over a race of lower culture, severe regulations of the nature of 'caste laws' have been made and followed to prevent the blood of the conquering race from being defiled by union with the conquered race. The same attitude against race-mixture has in recent times led all the southern and most of the western States of America to pass laws prohibiting intermarriage of White men with Negroes, mulattoes and Mongolians. Not only are such unions declared null and void, but the statutes of some of the States provide penalty of fine and imprisonment for infraction of the law. Some of the States, such as Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina regard this as a matter of such basic public importance that they have gone to the length of making the prohibition a matter of constitutional law. Even in those States in which there is no formal restrictive legislation, the public opposition to such racial intermarriage is found to operate as a fairly effective control.

The "Colour Bar Act" (1925), the "Natives' Land Act" (1913), and similar other statutes and the invidious "Pass Laws" in South Africa, like the

laws prohibiting the intermarriage of Whites and Negroes in the United States of America, are all essentially segregation acts designed to erect a barrier between Whites and Blacks, and to prevent the infiltration of the Black man and the Yellow man into the structure of the White man's society.

The same fear of race-mixture which led to the imposition of various social and economic disabilities upon the Bantu and other black population of South Africa, would appear to have operated in imposing the stigma of "untouchability" on some of the lowest Pre-Dravidian and mixed communities of Southern India.¹⁰⁸

As the social and political, economic and cultural, gulf between the 'Mediterranean-Dravidian' Tamil, Telugu, and other relatively civilized communities of South India, on the one side, and the

¹⁰⁸ The following appeared in the *The Inquirer* of London (July, 1937). "Untouchability is not confined to India, though nowhere else does it affect so vast a number of people as amongst the outcastes of that country. Untouchability persists in America, and in Europe too. Each of these continents has its outcastes. Nor is Hinduism alone among the great religions of the world in treating certain of its members as 'beyond the pale.' In the Southern States (of the U.S.) separate churches exist for whites and blacks....In Germany no one dare hope to become a minister of the Church, be he as blond as blond can be, if there flows in his vein one drop of Semitic blood....London, too, has its untouchables. An African can traipse, day in and day out, from Hampstead to Bloomsbury and Kensington in search of a lodging, or at worst for a room of his own, only to meet with a polite, and sometimes curt, refusal. Even the 'better' hotel will show him the door, courteously, it may be, but decisively—unless under some royal cognomen he enters replete with Secretary and suite!" See also E. B. Reuter, *Race Mixture*.

Pre-Dravidian jungle tribes and other indigenous communities of the lower culture, on the other, widened, the strong feeling entertained by the Dravidian communities against race-mixture and intimate contact with the other groups, would in time be naturally met by the despised communities with equally strong repugnance to such contact. The arrival, later, of the fair-skinned Indo-Āryans from the north, who before long established their influence and social or cultural superiority over both Pre-Dravidian and Dravidian and naturally sought to maintain the purity of their blood and their habits, would appear to have increased the Pre-Dravidian's feeling of suspicion, not indeed unmixed with fear and awe, towards the White strangers. In this connection it may be pointed out that several primitive tribes of Africa and elsewhere in the early period of their contact with the White race came to regard the latter as superhuman beings, almost as a class of gods. It was presumably in this light that the Pre-Dravidian tribes regarded the white Brāhman when later they arrived in Southern India. Contact with them was avoided as it was supposed that "a Brāhman possessed something like fire,"¹⁶⁹ or, in other words, was endowed with superior 'mana' or some mysterious energy or power.

¹⁶⁹ For instances of this *taboo* against Brahmins for fear of their superior *mana*, see pp. 86-89 *ante*. Of the Kurichans, a hunting tribe of Malabar, Thurston writes, "when a Brahman has been in a Kurichan's house, the moment he leaves it, the place where he was seated is besmeared with cowdung to remove the pollution."

Although this avoidance, on the part of the Pre-Dravidian tribes, of powerful strangers worshipping strange gods and following strange customs, may be reasonably attributed to the primitive 'mana' concept, the avoidance of close contact, on the part of the comparatively civilized Dravidians and subsequent Āryan settlers in the Dravidian South, with the uncivilized and unclean indigenous Pre-Dravidian population was probably prompted originally by a feeling of social and cultural superiority and ceremonial purity and a consequent *penchant* for social seclusion analogous to the feeling that is responsible for the rule in England that "the railway porter shall not put any one into an apartment occupied by one of the nobility."¹⁷⁰ Like the primary impulses of anger and hate, this 'caste feeling' of civilized man, is not the monopoly of the 'Dravidian' of South India or of the Brāhmaṇic Hindu in general but is an almost universal phenomenon in comparatively advanced societies. It has its roots deep down in human psychology. Unless curbed and controlled and kept within decent bounds or diverted into other channels, it is calculated to produce disastrous results, as may be seen in parts of Africa. In Dravidian India, too, this caste-feeling, this dread of low and impure contact, instead of receiving any check, received fresh impetus from other contributory factors and was intensified. Of these factors, one was, as I have noted, the Pre-Dravidian's fear of spiritual danger from the evil 'mana'

¹⁷⁰ E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 342.

of the 'Dravidian' and the 'Āryan,' strangers. Out of the same fear of the powerful 'mana' of strangers, again, there appear to have originated amongst the Pre-Dravidians of Southern India, as amongst primitive tribes elsewhere, taboos on commensality and on sexual union with strangers.

Thus, outside India, the Zafimenalo of Madagascar lock their doors when they eat, and hardly anyone ever sees them eating; and "the Warua will not allow anyone to see them eating and drinking, being doubly particular that no one of the opposite sex shall see them doing so," and "every man and woman must cook for themselves." So, too, the Tuaregs of Shahara never eat or drink in the presence of anyone else.¹⁷¹ Among the Baniaro¹⁷² of German New Guinea, the gens or clan is exogamous and the tribe endogamous as among most Pre-Dravidian tribes of India, as well as among most other tribes of the lower culture in other parts of the world.

Another factor which might have helped still further in stiffening, in India, these prohibitions of the nature of caste-taboos on the part of the higher race would be the doctrine and practice of *Hatha yoga* which appears to have developed in pre-Āryan times among certain Mongoloid peoples of the north as well as among the Mediterranean-Dravidian peoples of India.¹⁷³ One important feature associated with the *yogic* theory and practices,

¹⁷¹ See Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Part II., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 116, 117.

¹⁷² "Baniaro" in the *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, vol 3, no. 4, 1916.

¹⁷³ Sir John Marshall, *Mahenjodaro and the Indus Civilization* (1923), vol I. pp. 52-54; Earnest Mackay, *The Indus Civilization* (1935), pp. 66-70.

at least in their earlier stages, is the avoidance of contact with 'impure' spiritual influences believed to emanate from persons of impure habits. Such mystic influences and emanations of varying degrees of supposed impurity, quite akin to the 'mana' concept of primitive man, are believed to extend to varying distances from their source.

As for the development of culture in Dravidian India, Dr. Hutton suggests that the fish-cult, the bull-cult, and the cult of the Mother-goddess, devil-dancing and exorcism, fire-walking, and the introduction of copper culture besides megalithic culture, the snake-cult and phallicism, are among their contributions. Some of their cultural elements such as metallurgy, manufacture of bricks and earthen-ware pottery, drilling of hard stones for beads, use of lapis lazuli and of phallic symbols, clay or stone or metal models of bulls, burial urns, and the worship of the Mother-goddess would appear to have formed part of the cultural inheritance of both the Southern branch of the Mediterranean race in India now known as the 'Dravidian' peoples and also of the northern branch who probably constituted the 'Asura' people of ancient Samskrit literature and whom tradition in Chōṭa Nagpur and elsewhere still remembers under that name. The cultivation of rice, too, might perhaps have been introduced by them. Serpent-worship was a principal cult of the Nagas, probably a branch of the Asuras (if not of the Indo-Alpine), both in Northern and in Southern India. The discovery at modern Rajgir, the ancient capital of Magadha or South Bihar, of an

inscription which reads "Mani-Nāga" in characters of the second century A. D. on a red sand-stone sculpture representing a row of Nāgas adorned with serpent hoods on the head, and of several heads of Nāginīs, one with an inscription reading—"Bhaginī Su-Māgadhi," besides the existence of stucco-reliefs among which figures of the Nāga or cobra predominate, points to the continuity of serpent-worship in the locality from Pre-Āryan Asura times onwards, and to the derivation of the present name 'Maniyar. *maṭha*' from 'Mani Nāga' probably identical with 'Manikara' named in the Mahābhārata.

The Dravidians in time consolidated their power in Southern India and developed a considerable civilization before the Āryans obtained a foot-hold in their country.

From a time long anterior to the Christian era, the 'Dravidians' of the South constituted themselves into well organized communities. In fact, the Andhras, Kalingas, Rashtikas (Rashtrakutas) of the Deccan, as also the Pandyas, the Cholas, and the Cheras or Keralas further to the south, had consolidated themselves into powerful kingdoms. They had not only worked out a considerable civilization in the country, but some of them had also developed an extensive maritime trade. From the Old Testament (I. Kings, IX & X), we learn that King Solomon (*circa*, B. C. 1,000) received from his mariners periodical presents of precious stones, gold, silver, sandal-wood, spices, peacocks and apes. As the Hebrew word for a peacock (*tukhim*) appears to be but a variant of the Tamil word *tokai* for the same bird, and as gold, precious stones, spices, and sandal-wood abounded in Malabar, scholars take this reference in the Old Testament to indicate the early intercourse of the Dravidians with the West. There is more definite evidence of brisk trade relations, in the opening centuries of the Christian era, between Europe

and the Chera, Chola, and Pandya kingdoms. Large hordes of Roman coins of the first and second centuries, including one struck by the Roman Emperor Claudius (41-54 A.D.) to commemorate his conquest of Britain, have been unearthed in these regions. Ancient Tamil as well as Greek and Latin works, such as *Ptolemy's Geography* and the *Periplus of the Erythrian Sea*, testify to the thriving sea-borne trade between the Coromandel Coast (*Chola-mandalam*) and Alexandria and thence to Europe.

Strabo mentions an embassy sent to Emperor Augustus at Rome by 'Pandion' who, as scholars infer, was probably a Pandya king of Southern India. From the third century, B.C., Tamil kings, it is said, repeatedly invaded Ceylon, and local legend attributes the founding, by about B. C. 100, of the town of Yalpanam (modern Jaffna) in Northern Ceylon to a Tamil king.

Prior to the seventh century before Christ, the Indian Aryans would appear to have possessed little knowledge of South India. Vidarbha or modern Berar appear to have been their first colony and kingdom in the South, and their culture and influence gradually extended much further to the south. In the third century, B.C., the great Emperor Asoka, as we learn from the fifth edict of his rock inscriptions, sent ministers of the Buddhist religion to the *Rastikas* (*Rattas*), the *Petenikas* (people about Paithan on the Godavari), and the *Aparantas* (Northern Konkan); and in his second and thirteen edicts, Emperor Asoka mentions the countries of the *Cholas*, *Pandyas*, and the *Keralaputras* (*Chera* or *Kerala*), as also the *Satiyaputras*. The *Keralas* had important ports and trading centres on the Western Coast. Dr. Aiyangar has adduced reasons to believe that from the beginning of the second millenium, B.C., the kings of the three early Tamil royal houses (Chera, Chola, and Pandya) as well as several petty chiefs of the South patronised ministers called *Panar*. We have literary evidence to show that from a time anterior to the Christian era there existed in the Tamil countries, literary academies called *Sangamas*, particularly the famous one presided over by the Pandya kings at Madura, which used to examine and pass poems for publication. Each kingdom had a well-organized system of local self-government

consisting of village-unions (*kurram*) each with a treasury, administrative assembly under a President, a well-organized revenue and judicial system, and a standing army and navy. Extensive irrigation works, roads, and magnificent temples were constructed and maintained. These Southern kingdoms sometimes fought with one another to extend their dominions, and sometimes two combined to crush a third, or two or more Tamil powers combined to crush a non-Tamil enemy, as we may presume from the state of affairs that we find in the country in the early Christian era. The old tribal system would appear to have continued in Southern India much longer than in Northern India. And even when Brahmanism took root in the South, the *varna* classification would appear to have sat loosely on Dravidian society.

Dr. L. D. Barnett¹⁷⁴ writes :—"Even in the first century of the Christian era the south seems to have felt little influence from the Āryan culture of Northern India. Some Brāhmaṇ colonies had made their way into the south and in a few cases Brāhmaṇs had gained there a certain position in literature and religion, but, on the whole, they counted for little in the life of the people, especially as their teaching were counter-balanced by the influence of the powerful Buddhist and Jaina churches, and Dravidian society was still free from the yoke of the Brāhmaṇ caste-system. Next to the *arivar* or sages, the highest place was held by the land-owning class, after whom ranked herdsmen, hunters, artisans, soldiers, and at the bottom of the social scale were fishers and scavengers. Government was under

¹⁷⁴ *Cambridge History of India*, pp. 595-7. Three ancient Tamil tribes, named respectively the *Marannar*, the *Thirayyar* and the *Vinavar* are said to have founded respectively the three Tamil kingdoms later known as the Pandya, Chola, and Chera or Kerala kingdoms.

the supreme control of the kings; but they were considerably influenced by the 'Five Great Assemblies'—bodies representative of the five classes of society."

Further north, over what is now the Maharashtra country, from the first century before Christ down to the first quarter of the third century after Christ (B.C. 75 to A.D. 210), the Andhrabhritya or Satavahana kings held sway. Dissatisfaction against their own crude image-worship would appear to have attracted the Dravidian to Jainism and Buddhism. In fact during this period the Buddhist religion appears to have flourished in the country, but Brahmanism also came to exist side by side, and the kings generally patronized both the religions. Foreign tribes such as the *Yavanas* (Bactrian Greeks), Sakas (Scythians), and Pahlavas (Parthians), who made incursions into the country in the first part of this period and later settled down, appear to have mostly adopted the Buddhist religion. It was during this period that the famous *chaitya* caves at Karli, Kanheri and other places were constructed. We read of several merchants, goldsmiths, druggists and ordinary householders causing at their expense Buddhist temples and monasteries to be constructed out of the solid rock. From the second quarter of the third down to the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian era Scythian *Kshatrapa* kings ruled over part of the Deccan and Abhira (probably *Gauli* or cowherd) kings over another part. Early Rashtrakuta kings who ruled over the northern part of the Deccan appear to have first remained subordinate to the Andhrabhrityas and the later Kshatrapas during the continuance of their power, and after that to have gained independence, and, though sometimes eclipsed by the Chalukyas, they were never extirpated, but later reigned supreme over the country from the middle of the eighth century till the third quarter of the tenth century, (A.D. 74 to A.D. 973). It was during Rashtrakuta rule that the worship of Vishnu and S'iva became prominent, and some magnificent temples and caves were constructed such as the rock-cut temples of Ellora. Still Jainism retained the prominence it had acquired during Chalukya rule, and Buddhism too had its followers. It was only during the

rule of the later Chalukyas and the Kalachuri dynasty of Chedi that Pauranik Hinduism came to be firmly established in Deccan. Among the last traces of Buddhism may be mentioned the construction of the Buddhist monastery and temple at Dambal by sixteen merchants in 1095 A.D. The Silahar chief of Kolhapur constructed a large tank and placed on its margin an idol of Buddha along with those of Shiva. Jainism was effectually checked by the rise of the Lingayat (BiraS'iva) sect which spread among the trading classes who had been formerly the chief supporters of Jainism.¹⁷⁵

In the Tamīl country, as we have seen, the Brāhmaṇ social polity, on its introduction there, sat but loosely on Dravidian society which continued to retain, more or less unimpaired, its tribal spirit of separatism and its division of society into a multiplicity of separate classes and territorial social groups, ill adjustable to the *varṇa* system of the immigrant Āryans. Each industry and trade divided its followers into a number of class-divisions. Thus, to take one example, workers in different metals—iron, steel, copper, bronze, silver, and gold,—were divided into *Kammālar*, *Akkas'alaiyar*, *Arivar*, *Ovar*, *Kaṇṇālar*, *Taṭṭār*, *Tuvaṭṭār*, *Pulavar*, *Punaiyar*, *Vittagar*, *Vittiar*, and *Vinaiṇār*.¹⁷⁶

However that may be, from the hurried sketch of Pre-Āryan Dravidian society given in this chapter, it will be seen that differences in occupation and social rank, among different communities, resulting from the different rôles played by different communities in the production of economic necessities and in the maintenance of

¹⁷⁵ For details, vide R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*.

¹⁷⁶ *Journal of Indian History*, vol. VII, p. 386.

the social system, and the multiplication of communities of different degrees of intermixture of the Dravidian with the Pre-Dravidian, would naturally result in considerable social differentiations. And thus racially, economically and culturally pre-Āryan Dravidian India would come to grade from a small Dravidian-Mediterranean aristocracy at the top down to the most wretched Proto-Australoid agrestic serf at the bottom. Although the primitive Proto-Australoid aborigine's semi-instinctive attitude of antipathy towards outsiders, akin to caste-hatred born of the instinct of self-preservation and fear of the evil *mana* of the alien intruder, helped to strengthen the Mediterranean-Dravidian's spirit of separatism, yet the various social groups formed in the pre-Āryan South would appear to have been in essence socio-economic classes, more or less flexible, and not inelastic socio-religious groups of the nature of Hindu *Castes*, determined as these latter came to be by heredity and an inexorable Karmic law. In other countries, too, we find that neither the juxtaposition of an immigrant conquering race with a low indigenous conquered population nor the growth of definite hereditary functions and trades or professions nor the formation of trade-guilds or of tribal councils (like the Indian *Pañchayats*) nor the mutual antipathy born of wide differences in physical and mental characteristics nor mutual avoidance among classes, due either to class-pride or eugenic or superstitious considerations, nor the combination of two or more of these considerations, has produced any institution like the

strictly organized and theoretically immobile and inflexible social grouping known as the Caste system of India. The essential features of that system which combines in itself different modes of social grouping (economic, domestic, political and religious) which are distinct and separate in other societies, are its inevitability or pre-destination based on the law of Karma and re-birth, its hierarchic gradation of classes which came to be recognized as based, not on wealth or temporal power but, theoretically at least, on supposed hereditary psychic qualities (*gunas*). The present inflexibility of its rules regarding endogamy and commensality would appear to have developed, or at any rate to have been precipitated, only since the 'Hindu' revival after the decay of Buddhism.

Whether or not the Proto-Dravidians had any definite idea of an infectious emanation of the nature of the Polynesian concept of 'mana' or soul-substance such as to this day exists among the indigenous Pre-Dravidian forest-tribes, they had at any rate a definite conception of a mysterious psychic power attained by their priest-magicians through their religious dances and in fits of spiritual exaltation. This mysterious power would appear to have borne a close resemblance to the Indo-Aryan *Rishi's* idea of taboo-holiness believed to be acquired by the true Brahman through *Brahmacharya* or chastity in both body and mind, *śauḥum* or ceremonial purity and *tapas* or asceticism. These somewhat analogous ideas of primitive and of advanced cultures would appear to have acted and reacted upon one another, with increasingly close contact of the

different cultures and partial intemixture of the different races in India. But yet **caste**, as a more or less unalterable social structure that it now is in India, does not appear to have emerged either in the Pre-Dravidian epoch of Indian social history which was an epoch of **tribes**, or in the Dravidian epoch which was an epoch of **classes**.

Whether the Proto-Dravidians originally came from outside or whether they are autochthones of India where they in time developed a civilization of their own and, about the fourth millenium B.C., sent off a branch north-westwards to become the ancient Sumerians of history, there is at any rate no reliable evidence to show that they developed by themselves the characteristic **caste-system** of India or even a strictly hereditary priestly caste of their own. Outside India, although a priesthood, as a class apart from the laity, was evolved in several ancient countries, yet nowhere does it appear to have developed into a strictly hereditary order. Neither the *Patesis* or priest-Magistrates of Sumerian cities, nor the ancient Egyptian Pharaohs of the Fifth Dynasty who, as priests of the Sun-god *Re*, combined in themselves the kingly as well as priestly offices, nor the ancient Cretan officers who combined in themselves the functions of both priest and king nor the ancient Gallic Druids, appear to have constituted a separate hereditary Caste.

In fact, the Hindu caste system, as we shall see in a future chapter, is rather the outcome of the interaction between the Indo-Āryan *Varna* system, on the one hand, and the tribal system of the Pre-Dra-

viḍian and the occupational class-system of the Draviḍian, on the other. The religious element that kneaded and leavened the resultant dough and set its seal on the perfected system was, besides the the Indo-Āryan concept of Karma, a certain 'taboo-holiness' that came to be attached to the Brāhmaṇ for his accredited possession of a special spiritual energy (*brahma-s'akti*) born of the predominance of the *sattva guṇa* sustained and stabilised through well-disciplined continence. The fact that this Indo-Āryan concept of *brahma-s'akti* (along with the associated concepts of *Kshatra-s'akti* and *Vais'ya s'akti*) happened to fall in line with, and so came to be regarded as, a more sublimated manifestation of the Pre-Draviḍian's concept of 'soul-substance' with its associated taboos and of the psychic power attributed by the Draviḍian to his priest-magicians, facilitated the later adoption, by the cultured Draviḍians, of the Āryan theory of the spiritual values of the *varṇas* with their respective dominant *guṇas* and appropriate *karmas* or functions. And the result was an attempt at a gradation of **castes** (as subdivisions of the four primary **varṇas**) among the numerous classes and communities based on occupational, racial, sectarian and other distinctions that had long existed from before in the Draviḍian country, and that now came to be consolidated, under the pilotage of Indo-Āryan sacerdotal legists presumably with the increasing co-operation of 'Draviḍian' reformists, as part of the comprehensive socio-religious polity since known as '**Hinduism**'.

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In *Man* for September, 1937, K. Govinda Menon describes some "*Red Painted Pottery from the Cochin State.*" These red painted pottery sherds were found in the excavation of an underground granite dolmen at Tiruvilwamala village. Along with the potsherds were also found some highly corroded pieces of a broken bronze bowl (containing 86.78 per cent copper, 12.34 p.c. tin, 0.49 p.c. antimony, 0.36 p.c. iron, and a slight trace of lead).

In the same number of *Man*, Simone Corbiau contributes a note (letter) regarding the *Prehistoric Remains on Historic Sites of India and the Near East*. In it the writer refers to the inadequacy of the chronologies actually in use regarding archaic North Indian remains and similar remains in pre-Hittite Asia Minor and the Early Minoan Agean, and summarizes the main conclusions of his book under preparation. Referring to the importance of stratified material from India, he observes—"If there was a time when the Harappa culture had to rely on Mesopotamia for its date, now it is the turn of India to enlighten the datings of the Near East."

In *Man* for October, 1937, J. K. Bose contributes a paper on *Marriage Classes among the Chirus of Assam*, among whom the cyclic system with five clans is still in vogue. In each generation the girls shift from one group to another, and in five generations return to their original group completing the cycle of five clans. "The males follow only patrilineal descent and avoid

the father's clan in marriage, but the women avoid both the father's and the mother's clan," and marry into a group different from either parent's.

In *Folklöre* for September, 1937, E.S. Drower, in a paper on 'The Ritual Meal,' points to the resemblance between the sacramental meals of the Parsis and of the Mandeans.

In the *Journal of the University of Bombay* for July, 1937, Dr. G. S. Ghurye contributes an article on the *Disposal of Human Placenta*, in which the author makes a survey of the beliefs and practices of man regarding the human placenta and dried-up stump of the navel cord, and concludes with a reference to man's attitude towards the placenta of his domestic animals.

In the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Society* for July, 1937, Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri in an article on the Nāgas discusses the chronology of the Nāga dynasties; and A. P. Pusalkar discusses the identity of "The Authors of the Indus Culture" and concludes that "there is nothing in the Vedic civilization that speaks against ascribing the authorship of the Indus civilisation to the Vedic Aryans...Dr. Jacobi would place the Rigveda at least in 5000 B.C. (a modest estimate), which accords well with the nature of the Civilization we find at Mohenjo-Daro, which is assigned to 3250-2750 B.C."

The *Modern Review* for November 1937 contains the summary of a speech on *The Patterns of Social Relations, Eastern and Western*, deli-

vered by Prof. Radhakamal Mukherjee at the Washington Sociological Society. Dr. Mukherjee observed that "the fundamental differences in social norms and attitudes" in the East and the West are that "in the East the familial or organic type of social groups and relations is more universal and pervasive in its influences." "The norm derived from the family tends to organise and regulate other social activities and relations including the economic, and this has humanised and socialised economic life in the East. In the West the contractual or artificial type of social relations dominates, and has even invaded family relations which in most civilisations are pitched up not to specific rationally-formulated ends of the partners in marriage but to fidelity and devotion which have a kinship to the ultimate values... In the East religion has borrowed profusely its symbolism from family loyalties, and the religious-familial symbols, pregnant with emotions derived from the mystical experience and tradition, have become condensed expressions of norms of human relations and regulate behaviour in the work-a-day world. The accumulated force of religion and social tradition has in the eastern countries proved too strong for the new industrialism to modify the more highly integrated and organismic behaviour...The development from the contractual to the ethical family, from profit-seeking industry to industry regulated by social and ethical standards, from a society dominated by mechanical and impersonal relationships to one governed by intimate and spontaneous strivings is an advance

which lies along the Eastern road. In the East, on the other hand, wherever the ancient social frame-work,—Caste, rural community, or joint family,—has thwarted individual initiative and efficiency, the ideal of individualistic justice, derived from the same contractual rational aspect of social life which has shown its abuses in the West, has been imported and has brought about a new vital orientation. There is thus to-day an interpenetration of Western and Eastern social attitudes and norms more and more stimulated by the technical development of communications and by culture contacts. The East is becoming West, and the West becoming East, and the twain are meeting ever more closely.”

In *The Indian Historical Quarterly* for September, 1937, Dr. Amltja Hertz contributes an article on *The Origin of the Proto-Indian and Brahmi Scripts*. The author concludes that in a very far past there existed in Hither Asia, very probably in Susa I, a script whose traces are found everywhere. It is not quite improbable that the oldest script contained signs for consonants and that the Semitic alphabet appears to be of the Susa I script. “The Brahmans did not write long before the Asokan period and therefore the knowledge of the Proto-Indian script was already lost, when the Brahmi was elaborated. The idea of writing must have come from elsewhere probably through a Semitic alphabet, but for some reason or other the script-borrowers chose their signs from the old

texts they possessed, but did not understand them. There is still a slight possibility that Brāhmi was elaborated directly after the invasion of India by the Āryans or at a later time, when the Proto-Indian script was still in use. There is however not the slightest proof for this hypothesis."

In the *New Review* for October, 1937, Charulal Mukerji writes a "Short Story based on Santhal Life" entitled *Hopna's Home*. Such stories, if really based on actual facts of primitive life and not spoilt by imaginary exotic embellishments, may serve a very useful purpose.

✓ The *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1934-35* informs us that "the Ancient culture discovered in the Indus Valley extended at least as far to the south-east as Eastern Kathiawar". The most important work in the field of exploration during the year under review was the trial excavation at Rangpur in the Limdi State, which almost touches the border of the Ahmedabad District. A large mound extending over 80 acres and rising from 15 to 20 feet above the surrounding plain was examined at this place, and in the three trenches sunk at the site, discoveries were made of ordinary and painted pottery, conch-shell bangles, terracottas, bricks and other antiquities characteristic of the proto-Indian culture and almost identical with those found in Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Some of the delicate fabrics are described as representing "the same of the

potter's art" and are provisionally attributed to the late period of the *Indus Valley* sites.

In Bengal, also, important excavations were carried out. In an isolated mound called the Medh at Mahāsthān in the Bogra District, a curious honeycomb-like group of small brick chambers, ranged in parallel rows and rising in five terraces, was brought to light. In another mound at Baigram in the Dinajpur District, the ground plan of a temple consisting of a sanctum surrounded by a circum-ambulatory passage was unearthed. At a third site in Bengal, named Mahānād, in the Hooghly District, an exploratory trench revealed the existence of interesting structures. All the three sites are attributed to the period from the 5th to the 7th century A. D.; when Bengal appears to have had particularly prosperous times.

Buddhist Gold Casket.—The excavations at Taxila were confined to the monastic area attached to the *Dharmarājikā Stupa* (mound), one of the most striking groups of monuments there. A number of courts of cells which were occupied by the monks, were brought to light. The most important discovery was that of a small *stupa* (mound) at the centre of which were enshrined Buddhist relics enclosed in a tiny gold casket, itself encased in two steatite caskets. The date of the casket is fixed by a coin of the Roman Emperor Augustus, together with a silver coin of the Saka King Azilises. This again affords a new date for the correlation of the chronology of

the Saka kings. Further excavations on a small scale were also carried out at the sites of Harappa in the Punjab and Nalanda in Bihar.

Epigraphy.—In the epigraphical branch, the most interesting discovery of the year was that of an early inscription from Nagari near Chitogarh in the Udaipur State. It records the construction of an enclosing wall for the divinities Samkarshana and Vasudeva by a king who had performed an *As'vamedha* or horse sacrifice. The inscription is attributed to the beginning of the 1st century B. C. and is of considerable importance not only as it is the first epigraphical mention of the horse-sacrifice and of the two Vaishnavite deities but also because its language is Samskrit.

In *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum, Part II*, the genesis of the Græco-Buddhist Gandhāra School of sculpture, on the North-Western Frontier of India, is thus described : The first stream of classical influence may have come from Antioch, the chief Hellenistic city of Syria, under the Seleucid Kings in the 3rd and 2nd centuries, B.C. The Bactrian kings of the Punjab, must have played a leading part in the spread of Hellenism, later influences, operating during the Kushan period, probably from Palmyra, Baalbex, Dura-Europas and other Greek colonies in Syria of that period. The occurrence in Gandhāra art of the Corinthian capital and other typical Græco-Roman motifs and the Hellenized Buddha figure with its characteristic drapery and halo, suggests that the School was affiliated more to the Græco-Roman than to the earlier Hellenic phases.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Anthropology.

The Rengma Nagas. By J. P. Mills, (Macmillan, 1937) Pp. x + 381. 25s.

Of all the Provincial Governments in India, the Government of Assam perhaps stands foremost in its unstinted patronage of anthropological research even in the face of great financial stringency. This is, we believe, the twelfth monograph of its kind published by the direction of the Assam Government; and it is quite on a par with the very best of them. A fairly detailed account is given of every phase of tribal activity, with a clearness and lucidity only possible to attain through intimate and sympathetic association with the tribe. Naturally enough particular attention is paid to the religious beliefs and the *gennas* and other ritual observances and peculiar customs such as the 'field-companies' connected with agriculture, for, as the author says, a Naga's very life depends on his crops. The system of irrigated terrace-cultivation is not in vogue in the tribe as among the Angamis; the very few irrigated terraces that the Rengmas have may be seen only in the most southern of the Western Rengma villages which have been only recently copied from the Angamis and hardly affect the economics of the tribe. "*Jhuming*" is practised by only the Western Rengmas. A large collection of folk-tales and a chapter on the Rengma languages, not hitherto studied, are among the special features of the

book. The Eastern Rengmas who have so long remained practically cut off from the outside world, even from their parent stock, present opportunities for the study of a body of unspoilt primitive tribe. It will be very unfortunate if Mr. Mills' apprehension that this may be the last tribal monograph that he will write comes true. We may, at any rate, expect that the materials that he may have gathered regarding one or more of the Assam hill-tribes not yet described such as the Abors and the Mishmis, will enable him to enrich the literature on Indian Ethnology with one or two other monographs yet, and further, that a comprehensive and comparative survey of the Ethnology of Assam or, at any rate, a generalised account of the primitive tribes of the Assam hills from his pen will form a natural sequel to his valuable ethnographic productions.

The Advancement of Science, 1937.—(London-British Association, 1937). Pp. 264. 3s. 6d.

This is a collection of all the Presidential Addresses delivered at the 107th Annual Meeting of the British Association held at Nottingham in 1937. The Presidential Address to the section of Anthropology was delivered by Prof. J. H. Hutton, M.A., D.Sc., C.I.E., who will be long remembered in India for his works on the ethnology of Assam and his Indian Census Report for 1937. The subject of his address was *Assam Origins in Relation to Oceania*. Readers of this Journal will remember that in an article on *Assam and*

the Pacific, in *Man in India* for 1924, Dr. Hutton referred to several cultural parallels between Assam and Oceania. In the present address, further cultural parallels are cited and the general association between Assam and Oceanic cultures is illustrated by a few instances. The address concludes with the suggestion that if, as he believes, there was an Indonesian migration which swept upwards and northwards to Assam before the Kukis came south, it must have been before the beginning of the Christian era. The principal point that Dr. Hutton seeks to make is that "the hill cultures of Assam correspond to other distant cultures or combinations of cultures, all of which appear to be marginal in distribution from the Indonesian centre, and that there is some ground for supposing that migrations of culture, if not of people, have taken place from some centre in or near the the Indian archipelago in various directions, one of which terminated in Assam."

Among the other addresses of special interest to anthropologists are the general Presidential Address by Prof. Sir Edward Poulton on "The History of Evolutionary Thought as recorded in Meetings of the British Association," the address on "The Sex Ratio" by Prof. F.A.E. Carew, the address on "The Changing Distribution of Population" by Prof. L.B. Fawcett, the address on "Economic Research and Industrial Policy" by Prof. P.S. Florence, and the address on "The Informative Content of Education" by Mr. H. G. Wells.

The Land of the Gurkhas or The Himalayan Kingdom of Nepal, by Major W. Brook Northey, M.C., with a Chapter by Brigadier General the Hon. C. G. Bruce, C.B., M.V.N. (Haffer & Sons) Pp. x + 248. 10s. 6d. *net*.

The book opens with a succinct but informative general survey of Nepal by Brigadier-General the Hon'ble C.G. Bruce, which is followed by a well-written general account of the geography, history and notable temples, shrines and cities of the country, and the customs and characteristics, sports and diversions of its people written by the author in the light of long acquaintance and sympathetic interest. The book will form a good popular introduction to the study of Nepal and the Nepalese.

Phulmat of the Hills. *A Tale of the Gonds.*

By Verrier Elwin. (John Murray, 1937) Pp. 300. 9s.

In the form of a tale or novel, the author, who is well-known in India for his labour of love among the aboriginal Gonds of the Maikal hills, gives us a vivid realistic glimpse into the pathetic yet fascinating and simple life of an important primitive hill tribe of India. The student of Man will perceive in this book the heart-beats of these unsophisticated people,—the inner springs of the thoughts, feelings and activities of primitive society. Next to intimate personal association with primitive folk, books of this kind are calculated to give a better insight into primitive life than mere class-lectures on primitive society; and monographs

on primitive tribes can be better appreciated in the light of realistic glimpses into primitive beliefs and ways of life afforded by really well-written books of this class, which are unfortunately very rare.

Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande. By E.E. Evans-Pritchard. With a Foreward by Prof. C.G. Seligman, (Clarendon Press, 1937). Pp. xxv+558, 21s. net.

In his Foreword to this most interesting volume, Prof. Seligman describes it as one of the leading works standing to the credit of British Anthropology during the past few years. And we heartily endorse this opinion. In four parts styled respectively Witchcraft, Witch-doctors, Oracles, and Magic, covering over five hundred pages, we are supplied with an exhaustive and lucid account of Magic and Witchcraft among the Azande such as we possess of few other tribes. The Zande concept of '*Mangu*' or 'Witchcraft substance' and 'witchcraft phlegm' is most interesting and illuminating. Space forbids our discussing the wealth of interesting material that this very valuable volume contains. Our only regret, that we share with Prof. Seligman (Foreword, p. xvi), is that a sketch of Zande religion does not accompany this account of Zande Magic. We are, however, informed that our author has published an account of 'Zande Theology' in *Sudan Notes and Records* (1937). Dr. Evans Pritchard in justification of his omission to include an account of

Zande religion and economics in this volume, says, "Everything in the world is ultimately related to everything else, but unless we make abstractions we cannot even commence to study phenomena." This is true, but we need hardly state that his readers may naturally expect that before long a detailed study of Zande religion, along with a sketch of other aspects of Zande culture, from our author's pen will enrich our ethnological literature. We are glad to know that Dr. Evans Pritchard is preparing an account of Zande family life and political institutions.

Hindu Customs and Their Origins. By Stanley Rice. With a Foreward by H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, (Allen & Unwin, 1937) Pp. 219. 7s. 6d.

The main theme of this book is the origin of caste in India. The author appears to hold that "Caste arose quite independently of any ideas of racial purity or even of occupation" (p. 58), and that "in the mind of the Dravidian, Caste was associated not with colour but with that division of the tribes into clans and families which we now find in totemistic societies." The author sums up his view of the development of caste from its beginnings to its consummation as follows :—

"When the Dravidians—or pre-Aryans—arrived in India they found there a people who were in a low—if not the lowest—state of culture....The primitive folk were driven into the hills and jungles. These primitive folk were totemistic,

and greatly impressed by the existence of evil spirits, against which, and often, too, in the service of which, magic charms and shells were thought to be an effectual remedy. But the pre-Aryans were themselves addicted to very similar beliefs and practices, which, moreover, involved various forms of tabu all carrying with them some notion of bodily injury or death to be avoided. The restrictions on marriage are specially significant... There is every reason to think that exogamy was so borrowed [from the aborigines] and, considering that it is the core of the whole system, we are justified in ascribing the origin of the system (whatever its development) to pre-Aryan cults. The whole idea of race-purity is founded upon the very principle of exogamy—a principle unknown to the Aryans and never practised by them except in India, but a principle, combined with totemism, which is ‘widespread among the swarthy, black, aboriginal race called Dravidian.’ Totemism is not practised by the Aryan races in India; it is now confined to the jungle tribes, the real aborigines, and to some classes or clans of the Dravidian family. The Aryan, having come into contact with the older inhabitants, discovered that they had an institution which, however it may have differed in detail, resembled the Caste which we know to-day. They found also that one of the main objects of it was to keep the Dravidians apart from the older aborigines and, if progress had advanced so far (for here we are in the region of guesswork), to preserve social distinctions among themselves, the analogy appealed to them. They saw that by adopting a similar custom they could keep themselves apart from the Dravidians, and, as the obvious distinction was between the fair-skinned and the dark-skinned, they named the institution, when it had taken root among them, *varna* or colour. We need not suppose that this came to them as an inspiration; still less that they invented caste for a specific purpose. Their natural instinct would have been to keep themselves to themselves, particularly as they practised what to them at least must have seemed a higher form of religion. But as the years passed and the inevitable intermingling of the population had taken place, what had at first started as an instinctive sanction gradually took shape as a semi-religious sanction, and so

crystallised into a full-blooded religious prohibition. They did not forget the Iranian prototype, nor is there any reason to suppose a revival of memory in some unexplained way; all that happened was that as caste settled down upon social lines the precedent of which they had experience came into play and naturally suggested a division which also conformed to the existing estimation in which the classes were held * * * * Thus, according to this view, caste did not come into being as an invention of the Aryans for their own preservation, nor as the outcome of evolution of occupation, nor as an inherent ingredient of the family system of the Aryans. Neither was it entirely due to the Dravidian or other pre-Aryans. These factors had their influence, but it was the combination of all that produced Caste in its final shape. The essential difference lies in the values to be given to each, and perhaps also in the chronology. The customs of the aborigines—the pre-Dravidians—contain the germ out of which the rest grew, they are not of secondary or partial importance, but primary and decisive. The more civilized Dravidians imbibed these embryonic ideas and erected them into some kind of system, with rules for marriage and injunctions of pollution. The Aryans polished and perfected what they found, adopting incidentally and imperceptibly much of the grosser superstitions of those amongst whom they had come to live, and importing something from their experience of their original home. And, finally—but not till long afterwards—the communities who were drawn into intimacy by similarity of occupation split up by imitation into separate castes which approximated to, but were not identical with, the worldly calling. The keynote of the whole process was neither pride of race nor convenience of economic relations, nor any of those things which might influence a modern man, but simply religion..... It is not because a custom is good but because it is persistent that we must look for its roots in religion.... There is a definite trend towards relaxation of the rules of pollution referring to such matters as commensality and overseas travel. Ideas of pollution and magical superstition are still rife amongst rustics who probably never heard of the Aryans. No doubt, as Maxmüller has recorded, universal custom is more powerful than books, however sacred. For books are read but customs are followed.'

It is the contention here that this universal custom could not have survived and flourished except only by religious tabu. Where two races exist in the same country, intermingle, live their lives together, and gradually acquire the same customs and the same traditions, nothing short of a religious tabu will suffice to keep them apart. Sooner or later and in spite of religious prohibition they will coalesce within a period which is conditioned by the configuration of the country as well as by the kind of race ; it has only preserved the artificial divisions of society and the ideas of pollution. * * * It is difficult to explain the persistence of this institution otherwise than by referring it back to the early practices of primitive religious cults, adopted, codified, softened, and civilized by their successors in time and in the inheritance of India. If it be asked why even in this modified form it should still persist, may we not reply that the Jew still keeps the law of Moses, still practises circumcision, still observes the Passover ; that the Moslems celebrate once a year the sacrifice of Isaac ; that until very recently Christians thought it blasphemy to question the Biblical account of the Flood or of the Creation ? There is nothing harder to uproot than a dogma or a tenet of religion and surely the most notable example in the world of this vitality is the Caste system of the Hindus." (pp. 73-85)

This is an elaboration of the theory and arguments that were put forward by Mr. Rice in the *Asiatic Review* for 1929. In an article on *Caste, Race, and Religion in India*, published in 1934 (p. 215), commenting on Mr. Rice's theory, we pointed out (1) that there is no evidence that the Dravidians knew any definite caste system before the Aryan's came to settle amongst them ; (2) that the Tamil word *Kulam* (evidently adopted from Sanskrit) connotes lineage or common ancestry, and (3) that totemism, like *Kulam*, is generally associated with exogamy, whereas caste must be exogamous. As regards the similarity of the idea behind caste-taboos

with the 'mana' concept of the Pre-Dravidians and other primitive tribes, we put forward our view in the same article, and as regards any possible contributions of the Pre-Dravidian aborigines of India to the Hindu Caste-System we discussed the question, according to our lights, in the last issue (July-September, 1937) of this Journal ; and in the present issue we have in its opening pages discussed the the question of the probable contribution of the Dravidian to that unique social system. So we shall not enter into any detailed discussion of Mr. Rice's views which appear to remain what they were in 1929. We are afraid that Mr. Rice is under the mistaken impression that the Pre-Dravidian or aboriginal tribes of India have no family- or clan-totem but a ' tribal totem.' It is, however, a fact, as every account of these tribes informs us, that most of these tribes are divided into clans (enlarged families) having each a special totem of its own, and that the *clans are normally exogamous, but the tribe is always endogamous*. As a matter fact, we rarely find an entire 'tribe' having one totem. And there does not appear to be any warrant for equating 'family' or 'clan' with 'tribe', as Mr. Rice appears to do. [More than once he speaks of " family or tribe " (p. 62), and " the family, ie. the tribe " (p. 63)]. We do not quite agree with the auther in holding that " the customs of the aborigines—the Pre-Dravidians—contain the germ out of which the rest grew, [and that] they are not of secondary or partial importance, but primary and decisive." We are inclined to think that the caste-system in India gradually developed by way of almost unconscious compromise or a slow natural process

of adjustment between the social concepts and systems of the Pre-Dravidians, Dravidians and the Aryans. (See pp. 253-4 *ante*). With regard to Mr. Price's view that religion (in the wider connotation of the term) was the key-note of the whole process, this is true of the *Varṇa* system which was conceived of as a 'way of life' designed to lead man from his natural (animal) life to a spiritual life, and when this came to be superimposed on the tribal system and the class system, it gradually assumed the form of the present caste-system and impressed upon it its present religious aspect. The proper (etymological) meaning of the word ' *Varṇa* ' is not 'colour' but 'description' (from the root *Vri*, to describe,) and the secondary meaning of 'colour' has misled most writers on caste in thinking that it originally referred to racial groups. Space forbids a discussion of the other topics (*Marhatta Customs*, and *Esoteric Hinduism*) dealt with in the book, in the light of some amount of personal knowledge and study by the author. We may, however, point out that in saying that "the main stream of Marāṭhā blood is aboriginal, modified by Dravidian admixture and possibly by Scythian," the author has ignored the latest authoritative opinion which traces the main element in Mārḥāṭṭā blood to be Alpine, for the Mārḥāṭṭā is not dominantly long-headed like either the pre-Dravidian or the Āryan, but generally broad-headed.

The Savage Hits Back or The White Man Through Native Eyes, By Julius E. Lips, with an Introduction by Professor B. Malinowski (Lovat Dickson Ltd. 1937). Pp.XXXi + 254, 21s. net.

In this charmingly illustrated and handsomely got-up and most fascinating volume, with its over two hundred reproductions of pictures of the White Man as represented in drawings, carvings, engravings and paintings (some of them of considerable artistic merit) executed by primitive tribes in different parts of the world, the gifted author has struck out a refreshingly new line of research. The numerous well-printed illustrations in the book reveal the primitive man's estimate of the characteristics of the intruding White Man. The estimate is in a few instances meant to be complimentary or appreciative, but are more often satirical: sometimes the satire is mild, in some instances unconscious, and in a few instances acute even on the verge of savagery. The wealth of material collected by our author and his illuminating comments on tribal art will help to remove certain current misconceptions on the subject. Prof. Malinowski, in his appreciative *Introduction*, very rightly says "It is no exaggeration to say that, in giving this beautifully illustrated and richly documented Corpus of tangible, plastic, and decorative expressions of native opinion on the white world, Professor Lips has laid the foundations of a new approach to the most vexed problem of culture change and diffusion.

Odyssey of the Islands. By Carl N. Taylor, (Charles Scribners' Sons. 1936). Pp. xiii+284.

In the form of narratives of travels and adventures in the Phillppines, the author gives us in twenty chapters very interesting and vivid glimpses

into native life in the Philippines. Well-written and well-informed books of this kind form very useful supplements to ethnographical manuals and monographs, in so far as they serve to invest with throbbing life the dry bones and bodies of fact presented to the student by the ethnographer, and enables him to carry in his mind a vivid realistic picture of the races and tribes he studies in his ethnographical monographs and text-books. For the general reader, who has neither the leisure nor the inclination to pore over the dry details presented in ethnographical books, such well-written books of travel, and exploration as the present volume form suitable media of enlightenment and knowledge, though necessarily fragmentary, regarding the living races, particularly the less known races of the world. And both to the student of Ethnology and to the general reader, the delightfully written narratives given in this book will form a useful and helpful back-ground for detailed study of the ethnology of the Philippines. The present book is much above the average book of its kind. The illustrations are well chosen and well-reproduced.

Progress and Religion. *An Historical Enquiry.*
By Christopher Dawson (London. Sheed & Ward, 1937) Pp. xvii+254. 3s. 6d. net.

In this book the author attempts to study the vital relation between religion and culture. He rightly regards the secularisation of modern civi-

lization as abnormal and transitory, and its divorce between the inner and outer aspects of human life as fatal to its permanence, attributes the revolutionary attitude, common in the contemporary world, to a divorce between religion and social life fatal to civilization. By following the development of human culture through the ages, the author endeavours to show how religion has been "the great dynamic force in social life and the vital changes in religious beliefs and the vital changes in civilization are always linked with changes in religious belief and ideals." "The secularisation of a society involves the devitalization of that society." Referring to the Hindu conception of life and progress, the author writes. "In the presence of the same facts, a Hindu would see, not the gradual emergence of the human ethical ideal, but the manifestation of a universal cosmic energy which is no less divine in its destructive and malevolent aspects than in its beneficent ones—in which all values are alike because they are the expression of a single creative fecundity. It is Shiva, the Terrible one, dancing his cosmic dance amidst the birth and death of the worlds. And this interpretation which finds God in the whole cosmic process is at least as logical as that of the European idealist who sees God only in the human mind—that is in the mental processes of a single species of mammalia. Moreover, it seems equally capable of evoking intense religious emotion, as we see in countless Shivaite and S'aktist prayers and hymns." The author confesses his Christian bias, however, and

says,—“To us these conceptions are unacceptable. They seem definitely lower and less true than the idea of the world-process as a gradual ascent in a spiritual direction. But this is because we view the evolutionary process through Christian eyes, even when, like Professor Huxley, we profess the most complete religious agnosticism. For the moral idealism which is still so characteristic of the Western mind is the fruit of an age-long tradition of religious faith and spiritual discipline.” Although we cannot agree with the author in regarding ‘a revealed religion with its historical element’ as giving it a higher place than what he calls “the unprogressive metaphysical religions of the East,” or in holding that “it is in historic Christianity far more than in any purely rational creed, that the Religion of Progress finds its satisfaction,” we think the author is probably correct in thinking that “the return to the Christian tradition would provide Europe with the necessary spiritual foundation for the social unification that it so urgently needs.”

Inter-racial Marriage in Hawaii. *A Study of the Mutually conditioned processes of Acculturation and Amalgamation.* By Romanzo Adams (New York. Macmillan, 1937) Pp. XVii + 353 \$4.

In this book the author portrays the character of the social relations in Hawaii as influenced and conditioned by the facts of racial and cultural difference among its peoples and modified by the

mutually conditioned processes of cultural assimilation and racial amalgamation. In Hawaii there is an organization of sentiment favourable to the marriage of the men or women of different racial groups to each other. On the basis of his very intensive study and careful analysis of authentic data, the author predicts that on a reasonably stable economic and political situation continuing to operate, one may look forward to the amalgamation of all the races of Hawaii and to their complete assimilation, and the people of Hawaii will become one people, with common loyalties. The University of Hawaii is to be warmly congratulated on the production of this valuable sociological study.

Oriental Literature.

The Mahabharata (Fascicule 8 ; *Virta Parvana*) for the first time critically edited. By Vishnu S. Sukthankar, with the co-operation of other scholars, and illustrated from ancient models by Shrimant Bala Saheb Pant Pratinidhi, Raja of Aundh. *Adiparva* (Poona Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1936). Pp. viii + 776 + c + viii.

It should be a matter of great pleasure and pride to every Indian that the first critical edition of one of India's two greatest epics has been undertaken by eminent Indian scholars. And the editors, as might be expected, have performed their self-imposed task with consummate skill and ability. The method adopted in reconstructing the text by a critical comparison of the

oldest manuscripts available is, to our mind, the most judicious and sound method possible in the circumstances. Variations in readings are given in the foot-notes; and in Appendix I are given *in extenso* a series of additional passages found in different Mss. cited in the notes to the constituted text. If the subsequent parts keep up, as we are confident they will, the high standard of scholarship reached in the present fascicule, the work will remain a standing monument to Indian scholarship. The coloured illustrations reproduced from ancient models by the enlightened Raja of Aundh add to the value of the book.

Rig Veda Samhita, Mandal I. With Sayana's commentary. (*Vedik Samsodhan Mandal*. Tilak Mahārāshṭra University, Poona, 1934). Pp. xx+1115. Rs 12.

The Tilak Mahārāshṭra University has placed Indologists under a deep debt by undertaking the publication of this excellent edition of the Rig Veda, designed to unravel "the mystery lying enveloped in every word and thus arriving at the true meaning of the minds of the composers." The elaborate commentary and annotations are of invaluable help to the reader in grasping the true import of the *Riks*. By giving the prose rendering of each *rik* and by indicating proper stress on each syllable and the quantity of each vowel, the rhythmic structure of each verse has been

clearly brought out, so as to enable even a beginner to read the verses with correct intonation and to grasp the meaning with the help of the commentary.

In the opening section the editor supplies lucid and interesting solutions to some of the questions likely to confront the reader. We have no hesitation in pronouncing this edition of the Rig Veda as one of the very best so far available.

Sociology.

Principles and Methods of Sociology. By J. M. Reinhardt and G. R. Davies. (Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1932). Pp. xxv + 685. \$3.

This is an excellent text-book of Sociology written in the light of teaching experience by the joint authors, one of whom is a Professor of Sociology in the University of Nebraska and the other is Professor of Statistics in the University of Iowa. The book is divided into three parts: Part I, headed 'Social Process,' is subdivided into nine chapters, respectively headed,—'The Development and Method of Sociology,' 'What is Society?' 'The Bio-Psychic Basis of Human Behaviour,' 'The Individual and the Group,' 'The Role of Struggle,' 'Co-operation,' 'Conflict and Competition,' 'Major Fields of Conflict,' and 'Avoiding Direct Conflict.' Part VI is headed 'Factors conditioning Society,' and is subdivided into four chapters, viz., 'The Physical Environment,' 'Heredity and

Variation,' 'Race and Racial Capacities,' and 'The Population Factor.' Part III is subdivided into seven chapters, *viz.*, 'Cultural Origins and Evolution,' 'Cultural Stages,' 'The Family,' 'Economic Organization,' 'Social Aspects of Religion,' 'The State,' 'Summary and Outlook.' A number of charts and figures and an Appendix of 'Tables,' and another of 'Statistical Summary,' and a fairly exhaustive Index, complete the volume. The table of contents given above will show that the book covers all the essential topics of sociology. Intended to be an introductory text-book, it does not attempt to elaborate a detailed social economics, but serves to introduce the student to the social data and the statistical methods of thinking essential to a grasp of the social process. This appears to be one of the best text-books for beginners in the study of sociology.

Current Sociological Problems. By J. M. Guillette and J. M. Reinhardt (American Book-Company, New York, 1937) Pp. x+819. \$4.

This is another well-written book of the 'American Sociology Series', which will be found very useful to comparatively more advanced students of Sociology, particularly in the United States. After a careful analytical survey in Part One (two chapters) of the nature of social problems and their relation to the larger embracing society, the author deals with some of the important social problems of the United States. In Part II

(nine chapters) are discussed problems more immediately related to geographic and economic conditions; in Part III (six chapters) problems arising out of psycho-physical conditions, in Part IV (four chapters) Emigration, Problems connected with Race and Maturity (immigration and emigration), and in Part V (three chapters) Problems centred in the domestic institution or the Family, and in Part VI Problems of general Social Control.

Practical Sociology. By Leslie D. Zeleny. (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1937). xxi—461. \$4.

In the preface, Dr. Zeleny indicates the purpose of the book to be to make clear to beginners the principles of Sociology dealing with the common affairs of everyday life, and to help them in more effective living. Hence the book is appropriately entitled *Practical Sociology*. A prominent and most useful feature of the book is the selected illustrative stories or vivid accounts of human behaviour under different conditions of social environment. They are calculated to give the pupil a real and sympathetic insight into the social life around him and the cultural process at work. These stories stimulate interest in the minds of the pupils and lead them through the common affairs of everyday life to a grasp of the essentials of Sociology. Nor has Prof. Zeleny confined himself exclusively to problems involved in the intimate contacts of everyday life, but, as Prof. Herbert Bulmer of the University of Chicago,

in his Introduction to the book, says, "without sacrificing clearness and liveliness, the author has been able to incorporate in this volume a surprisingly large amount of current sociological theory and yet to maintain a well-knit organization." The book will make the study of sociology a pleasure to beginners and encourage them in making explorations and using resources at hand.

Creative India : From Mohenjo Daro to the Age of Ramakrishna Vivekananda. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar. (Motilal Banarsi Dass, Lahore. 1937) Pp. x + 714. Rs 15.

This is an outstanding contribution to the cultural history of India. In the light of comparative culture-history and sociology, the gifted author has dealt with "some of the creations of the Indian peoples in personalities, ideas, institutions and movements from the Mahenjo-Daro times down to the age of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda as specimens of human energizing," particularly "some of those phases and trends in the evolution of Indian manhood and civilization which are generally overlooked or minimized by antiquarian researchers, text-book writers on Indian history, archæology, philosophy or literature, as well as by authors of general treatises relating to the "spirit" of India or the East". For an adequate delineation and elucidation of "the pluralistic trends of the Indian *Gestalt* of civilization or culture-complex *in motion*" which the author has attempted to exhibit in this volume, each of the five chapters in which the book has

been divided should have been expanded into a volume, each at least as bulky as the book under review. But within the limited space of the present work the erudite author has succeeded, with consummate skill and judicious discrimination, in compressing a vast mass of authentic well-documented and well-arranged material, and has presented them with a lucidity of synthetic exposition, born of profound scholarship and acute interpretative insight. The limitation of space has necessarily led to the omission of several particulars and details which may not be altogether unessential ; and we look forward to a larger and more comprehensive work from the learned author which will prove to be an encyclopædia of Indian culture and at the same time its philosophy. A few of the reflections and inferences of our author regarding certain aspects of Hindu culture would appear to run counter to some popular or accepted theories and might provoke criticism ; but, all the same, the author's view-points deserve careful consideration at the hands of thoughtful readers and may, we hope, serve, at least in some cases, to modify current opinion. We have no hesitation in regarding this as the best and most comprehensive work of its kind.

Elements of Social Anthropology. By B. C. Mazumdar (University of Calcutta, 1937) Pp. Xi + 139.

This book is intended to be an elementary introduction for beginners in the study of man, and contains five chapters, headed respectively, 'Man and his Equip-

ments for Progress,' 'The Adventures of Man,' 'Expansion of Human Society,' 'The Marriage of Man,' and 'Religion.' In an Appendix, very short accounts are given of the Andamanese, the Veddas, the Todas, the Nāyars, the Khāsis and the Garōs, as illustrating the life, habits and social communities living at different stages of culture and having different social organizations. The book is written in an easy non-technical style suited to the comprehension of beginners.

Freud and Marx. *A Dialectical Study.* By R. Osborn, with an Introduction by John Strachey (Gollancz. 1937) Pp. 285, 8s. 6d. net.

In this book the author gives in clear language a popular exposition of the doctrines of Marxism and psycho-analysis and seeks to illustrate the dialectical unity and inter-relationships between the subjective life of man, as described by Freud, and the objective world of economic processes, whose laws of development Marxism has investigated. He exposes the incorrectness of the popular notion that the Marxian View excludes from consideration the subjective qualities which play their part in all human behaviour, and pleads for the closer study of psycho-analysis by Marxists, and of Marxism by psycho-analysts, and of both by the general public. Says he, "The facts of both psycho-analysis and Marxism refer to man. The one describes the subjective, the other the objective

life. The Marxist, without knowing something of the subjective side of man's life, will remain one-sided, as will the Freudian who misconceives the nature of the objective situation in which man's subjective life expresses itself. The two approaches from dialectical opposites and in unity provide the fullest knowledge of man". Students of psychology and sociology will find in this book a concise well-written account of the main features of Marxism and Psycho-analysis and their inter-relations.

Archaeology.

Mohenjo-Daro and the Civilization of Ancient India with reference to Agriculture. By N. C. Chaudhury (Calcutta. Newman, 1937). Pp. 30. Rs 2.

In this little book, the author, who is an expert in agricultural science, refers to materials relating to agricultural products and implements discovered in the prehistoric site of Mohenjo-Daro and described in Sir John Marshall's well-known work on Sind Valley excavations, and discusses the question of their introduction into India. Two sections are devoted to the plough, although Sir John Marshall is not sure that the flint implements resembling plough-shares are really so but describes them as '*possibly* plough-shares.' Mr. Chaudhury, however, jumps to the conclusion that, "The Aryan settlers must have got it from the old Indus people and readily put it to the test. The Aryans were so delighted with the results that hymns were composed for the

Rigveda describing the beauty of a straight furrow (*Sitā*). This hymn on *Sitā* might have inspired Valmiki to write his celebrated book." Then the main story of the Ramāyana is briefly told in two pages, and the history of the *Mahābhārata*, in which the plough which was the 'the symbol of truth and duty with the prince Balarma,' in a page and a quarter; then follow reference to the plough and ploughing in the Rigveda in over half a page, and this section concludes with the remark,—“If the Aryans had got the original plough from the Mohenjo-daro Indians in the early Vedic period, descendants of the Iranians (whom the author suggests were the *Suras* referred to in the Rigveda) might have afterwards secured it from their Indo-Aryan kinsmen. This leads the author, in another section of nearly a page, to a discussion headed ‘Iranian and Indo-Aryan’ ending with the suggestion that “these two branches of the Aryan race were, at least, very closely connected with one another till the times of Atharva-Veda”. In the next four pages the author discusses the question of the introduction of iron into India and concludes,—“Whatever might have been the position of the ancestors of Uraons, Mundas, Bheels and Santhals, they were probably the discoverers of iron in India.” The reason for this inference is that “iron is still manufactured by these aboriginal tribes, in their own way.” In the last issue of this journal, reference was made to the Orāoñ and Muṇḍā tradition in Chōṭā Nāgpur that iron was introduced there by a pre-historic people called the ‘Asuras,’ and reasons were adduced in support of the theory.]

that the Asuras of Chōṭā Nāgpur tradition were a branch of the proto-Dravidians. In the remaining ten pages of the book, the author deals with grains and fibres, and says that the introduction of wheat, barley, rice, *kus'a* grass and sesamum seed, cotton, flax and *bhāng*, sunn hemp (*hibiscus*), jute and other fibres, were either introduced by the Āryans or were indigenous in India

History.

The Cambridge History of India. Vol. IV. *The Mughul Empire*, 1525-1757. Planned by Lt. Col. Sir Wolseley Haig; and edited by Sir Richard Burn. (Cambridge University Press, 1937) Pp. xxvii+670+58 Plates, besides 6 maps. 42s. net.

This fourth volume of the now-classic *Cambridge History of India* keeps up to the high level of the preceding volumes of the work. The contributors of the volume are, as in the previous volumes, each an acknowledged master of his subject. Sir Denison Ross is responsible for Chapter I (Babur); Sir Richard Burn for chapter II (Humayun), VI (Jahāngīr), and VII (Shah Jahān); Sir Wolsley Haig for chapters III (Sher Shāh and the Sūr Dyansty, and the Return of Humāyūn), IV & V (Akbar), IX (Kingdoms of the Deccan during the Reigns of Jahāngir, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzib, and the Rise of the Marāṭhā power) and XII (Muhammad Shāh); Sir Jadunath Sarkar for chapters VIII & X (Aurangzib), XI (Bahādur Shāh, Jahāndār Shāh, Farruk-Siyar, Rafī'-ud-darajāt and Rafī'ud-daula),

and XIII (The Hyderabad Slate, 1724-1762); H. G. Rawlinson for chapter XIV (The Rise of the Marathā Empire, 1707-1761); W. H. Moreland for chapter XVI (The Revenue System of the Moghul Empire); G. E. Harvey for chapter XVII (Burma, 1531-1782); and Percy Brown for chapter XVIII (Monuments of the Moghul Period). Bibliographies, Chronological Tables, Dynastic Lists and Genealogical Tables, and maps complete the volume. Besides furnishing a fairly full and well-documented account of over two centuries of political and dynastic history of India (including Burma), the volume contains studies of the revenue system and architectural activities of the Mughuls, illustrated by nearly one hundred photographs. As a comprehensive and authoritative history of India, the *Cambridge History of India* will long hold an assured position. We were not, however, prepared for the uncharitable comments on Akbar's monotheistic "Din-i-Ilahi" creed promulgated with the idea that all religious bodies ought to be united "in such a fashion that should be both 'one' and 'all' with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any religion, while gaining whatever is better in another: In that way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the peoples, and security to the empire." (p. 130) But Sir Wolsley Haig is not the only historian to share the view which to us appears unfair. At any rate, as regards this we lack adequate materials for passing an unfavourable judgment on Akbar's religious attitude. The opinion of Muhammadan writers, particularly Badauni, an ene-

my of Abul Fazl, can be no safe criterion in the matter. However, the work under review will for the present deservedly remain the standard text-book on the Moghul Period of Indian History.

Tamerlane or Timur the Great Amir. Translated by J. H. Sanders from the Arabic Life by Ahmed Ibn Arabshah (Luzac. 1936). Pp. xviii+34). 12s. 6d. *net*.

This is the first English translation of the valuable biography of Timur compiled during the reign of Timur's son and successor Shah Rukh by Ahmed ibn Arabshah. The original work was one of the two contemporary sources of the biography of the mighty Turki conqueror. The realistic picture presented in a vivid and fascinating style by Ahmed ibn Arabshah of the physical appearance, character, and achievements of Timur and the principal events of his career, is delightful and may be justly regarded as authentic. The translation is elegant and at the same time fairly literal, preserving much of the beauty and flavour of the original. The author and the publishers deserve the gratitude of all students of Asiatic history for this fine translation of a fine and important book.

The Dynastic History of Northern India : Early Mediæval period. By Dr. Hem Chandra Ray, M.A., Ph.D., with a Foreword by Dr. L. D. Barnett.

Vol. I, Pp. I, 1-663, i-ii, 10 maps, (Calcutta University Press, 1931) Rs 10, Foreign 15s.

Ibid, Vol II. Pp. I-XXII, & 664-1298, maps 10, (Calcutta University Press, 1936) Rs10, Foreign 15s.

In the Preface of Vol I the author states that "the idea of the present work suggested itself to me as early as 1920-21," and "the first two volumes of the work were however actually planned and completed during my stay in Europe during the years 1927-29"; this shows the patience and erudition of the author who has devoted a period of 16 years to compile the volumes. This work is an excellent contribution to Indian History. Although the author's specific period of study is the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries A.D., when northern India began to be a prey to the Mahommedan invaders who subsequently became the masters of the country and influenced the culture of the land in subsequent centuries until the advent of the British, these two volumes give the history of the rise and fall of many dynasties which had been on the scene from long before the epoch and some of which are even now exercising some regal authority in India.

The second volume deals with the history of Northern India from Kashmir to Orissā and Guj-rāt to Assām in 18 chapters, the first six of which deal exclusively with the area covered by Sind, the Punjab, Kāshmir, Nepal, Assam, Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa wherein 54 dynasties flourished during the period. The last three chapters of vol I deal with the Gahadavālas of Vārāṇasi and Kānyakubja, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (5 branches) of Northern

India and the Later Gurjara Pratiharas of Kanauj. Chapters XI to XVIII of Vol II deal with Chandratuyas (Chandellas) of Jija-Bhukti (Bundelkhand), Haihayas (4 branches) of the United Provinces and the Central Provinces, Kachhapaghata or Kachwahas (3 branches) of Rajputana and Central India, Paramaras or Pavaras (5 branches) of Gujarāt, Mālwa and Rajputānā, Chalukyas (Solankis) of Anāhilapaṭṭana, Cahamonas or Chauhans (8 branches in the Punjab, Rajputānā and Gujarāt), Tamaras (Tuars) of Delhi and Guhilaputras or Guhilots (6 branches) of the Punjab, Rajputānā, and Kāthiawār. Thus no less than ninety dynasties have been included in these volumes.

The inter-relations of the neighbouring dynasties have been traced and interpreted by the author. A careful study of these volumes will greatly help the reader in forming a clear idea of the country and its people during this period of transition in Indian history. In the preface to Vol II the author has "accepted the role of a builder of a foundation rather than that of an architect planning and raising an imposing superstructure and magnificent facade of History," and we congratulate the author that his ambition has been fulfilled.

The other important features of the book are its 20 tricoloured maps, genealogical and synchronistic tables. The get-up of the book is good and the selection of the Mukteis'vara temple of Bhubanes'war on the jacket and cover of Vol I and of a portion of the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque of Delhi showing the sculptures from the Hindu

temple, is, according to the author, "a symbol for the whole work." It is a matter of regret that even the Calcutta University Press where the book has been printed could not avoid some typographical mistakes.

We should like to invite the attention of the author to the significance of the epithet "Trikingādhpati" and the identification of the geographical area of the Trikinga country. No inscription seems to indicate the particular part of the country in which any particular village was granted to anybody. At page 251, Vol I, the author says that Trikingādhpati is "a conventional title" and the rulers of Somavamsi, Ganga and Haihaya dynasties and even one ruler of the Chandella dynasty are found to possess this title. In map I of vol II the author suggests that the country covered by western Orissa and eastern C. P. was formerly known as Trikinga. It appears necessary that this important point should be thoroughly investigated and discussed and the proper significance of the term should be interpreted.

P. Acharya.

Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect. By Dr. Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri M.A., Ph.D., (Calcutta University Press.)

This volume was first published in 1920, when it happened to be the only book of its kind. In the present edition, which has been enlarged by 80 pages, the author has incorporated "some of the more

important results of recent researches" and has utilised "the constructive criticism and suggestions" made since the publication of the first edition.

Vaishnavism constituting one of the most important chapters in the history of Indian thought and culture, the learned author has carefully traced the development of this form of religious thought through the centuries and put together the leading facts of its history which lie scattered in Sanskrit literature, epigraphical records and foreign accounts as also in the modern writings of a host of Oriental and Occidental scholars, and presented the results of his investigations in this authoritative account of the most popular religion of the people.

The first Lecture deals with "Vaishnavism and Vāsudeva" and in it the author tries to show that "this *Bhakti* religion is not a plagiarism from Christianity, but owes its origin to Vāsudeva who is also Krishna, the famous prince of the Vrishṇi family of Mathura, demonstrating the unsoundness of various theories." In the second Lecture "the life of Krishna Vāsudeva and the early progress of Bhāgavatism" have been dealt with, and in it the author has shown how "Vāsudeva was identified with the Brāhmaṇic gods Nārāyaṇa and Vishnu." In the third Lecture the author discusses the question of the relation of Bhāgavatism to the following non-Brahmanical creeds, viz, Ajivikism, Jainism, Buddhism and Christianity. In his fourth Lecture the author traces the fortunes of the Bhāgavata religion from the

first century A.D. to the time of the Tamil Āchāryas; and concludes that "the new faith that developed on the banks of the Jumna finally coalesced with a few Brāhmaṇical and popular cults to form the great federation of religions known as Vaiṣṇavism.

I should like to make one suggestive criticism in connection with the *Vyuha* doctrine of the Pañcharātra system which is still in vogue in a modified form perhaps to some extent at Puri in Oṛissā. The gods there are Jagannath, Balabhadra, Subhadra and Sudars'ana. The temple at Kendrapārā in Cuttack is known as that of Baladwaji and there still exists a temple at Bhubaneswar known as Ananta Vāsudeva in which there are stone images of Balarama, Jagannātha and Subhadra. There is a set of such images in the compound of the Lingarāja temple at Bhubaneswar. In a foot-note on page 176 our author writes, "The adoration of Sankarshana and Vāsudeva seems to survive in a modified form in the worship of 'Bala, Krishna and Subhadra' mentioned in a Bhubaneswara inscription (Ep. Ind., XIII, 153). Varāhamihira (LVIII 36-37) refers to the images of Baladeva and Krishna standing on either side of Ekanamsa (Subhadra?) who is identified with Pārvatī by the *Trikaṇḍa Disha* and *Sābda Kalpa-Druma*." From the *Pratishtapañchaka* quoted in chapter 18 of *Haribhakti Vilāsa* it is found that Ekanamsa and Subhadra were the names of the same duty—"एकानङ्गशान्तयोर्मन्ये करयेत सेम्यभपिणीङ्ग" and "देवस्य दक्षिण पाश्वे सुमद्राङ्ग विनिवेशयेत्". So it appears that Dr. Ray Chanhuri was quite

right to suggest the similarity of *Ekanamsha* with *Subhadra*. In the *Pancharātra* the four *Vyuhas* consist of *Samkarsana*, *Vāsudeva*, *Pradyumna* and *Aniruddha*. In the *Vrihat Samhita*, the description of the images of *Samva* and *Pradyumna* is found along with that of *Ekanamsha*. The introduction of the new names *Ekanamsha* and *Samva* in the 6th century in place of *Aniruddha* is significant. This piece of literary evidence shows that the *Vyuha* worship, though then current, was yet undergoing modification. In the *Bhāgavata*, the daughter born to *Yasodā* and killed by *Kamsa* has been described as *Ādimātā Durgā* and the introduction of a *Ekanamsha* in the group is an important change in the *Vyuha* form of worship which was inaugurated in *Vaishnavism*; and further, as if to entice the *S'aivas* and *S'aktas*, the attributes of *S'iva* and *Durgā* were introduced into *Balabhadra* and *Subhadra* to form the federation of *Brāhmaṇical* religions in *Vaishnavism*.

Stone images of *Jagannātha*, *Balabhadra* and *Subhadra* have also been discovered in the United Provinces and the images are preserved now in the Lucknow Museum. There is also an image of *Balarāma* in the Gwalior Museum. These images show how the religion spread widely all over northern India. This piece of archaeological evidence, it is hoped, will help Dr. Ray Chaudhuri to investigate further in the direction in which his researches as embodied in this book are very illuminating.

Studies in Indian Antiquities. By the same author, (University of Calcutta, 1932) Pp. XVI+1-211.

The contents of the book which is a collection of fourteen detached essays, have been grouped under four heads, viz, Part I, Vedic and Epic studies ; Part II, Geography ; Part III, History and Chronology ; and Part IV, Epic and Geographical Studies in Bengal.

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